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White Teacher at Dunbar Evening High

ALBERT LOWNEY

Not for Sale

ROBERT G. JONES

Germany's New Pariahs

ALFRED WERNER

Negro Painter's in Uruguay

IRENE DIGGS

Master Sergeant Starling

PETER E. CULLOM

To Crisis Subscribers and Readers

The June and July Issues of the Crisis are combined in one Issue, June-July, out July 1

▼

PLEASE DO NOT BE UPSET WHEN YOU FAIL TO RECEIVE YOUR JUNE ISSUE ON JUNE 1

▼

The August and September Issues, our Annual Educationl Number, are also a combined Issue, August-September, out September 1

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Walter White, Carl Murphy

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WEBSTER PLAQUE WINNER—*Rodney England of Springfield, Ill., holds the 1952 plaque which has just been presented to him by his high school Latin teacher, Violet Dumas. Plaque is given annually by Dr. and Mrs. D. E. Webster of Springfield for scholarship and all-around character development. Mr. England, a premedical school junior at the University of Illinois, received the award at the 31st annual Lincoln-Douglass banquet of the Springfield NAACP.*

■ The very human experiences of a teacher in a New York City evening high school

White Teacher at Dunbar Evening High

By Albert Lowney

"WOULD you care to accept a position as chairman of the English department at Dunbar Evening High School?"

Needing the extra money, I had asked the director of evening schools for a teaching position, and here he was offering me a chairmanship! And yet, despite my prompt acceptance, I had strong misgivings. After all, the school was in a colored neighborhood and virtually all of the students were colored. I had read and heard innumerable ominous tales, many of them centering around that very neighborhood, so that the first night, as I approached the school, I felt swamped by a Black Sea.

I walked along with a painfully affected nonchalance, for the school was situated on a dark, dismal, rubbish-laden street flanked by brownstone houses. I knew, of course, that the street lay between two avenues of only average distance apart, and that the school entrance came between the two, but no street ever felt so long. Once inside the sanctuary of the school, I should have felt easier, but the presence of a policeman on duty, only added to my misgivings.

At the time clock I saw several colored people also punching time cards, and it surprised me to see them. I know that I shouldn't have been, but I am merely stating a fact. I have been teaching over twenty years, and the sight of them — not just one colored teacher (for window dressing), but many — did surprise me. And the principal was colored, too.

I taught on my first night with considerable uneasiness. Then, released by the bell and time clock, I ran the Indian gantlet to the train for home. The next day I got some advice from a man who had worked for years in such a community: "Mind your business and you'll have no trouble."

Since that prémonitory beginning, I have had a number of illuminating

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ALBERT LOWNEY *is the pen name of a teacher in a metropolitan evening high school.*

experiences. Like most white persons, I had come to look upon Negroes as stereotypes; but the more contact I had with them, the more I began to realize that the stereotype was about as true as a British novelist's "American."

NEGROES DIVERSE

Somehow, we don't realize that Negroes are as diverse as other people. Physically, there is a wide variation, too, but one soon forgets the physical aspects and regards rather the personality and character. The couple I spotted sneaking a kiss in a quiet hallway of the school could have been white. And the carefully cultivated "sophisticated" personality of one of my very young women, with her built-up complexion, her ramrod carriage, and the studied grace of her dramatically slow walk, easily reminded me of my other young movie-going ex-students, whose audience-of-one roles I've been equally tempted to destroy with a chuckle.

The exuberant Miss Shea somehow breaks out of the stereotype, too. For what can give to such a naturally lighthearted youngster so earnest a desire for an education? And Miss Thornleigh looks typical enough, but the lightning-fast, good-natured, often extremely subtle wit doesn't seem to fit in. Several times in the term, she'd come in, a fugitive from a beauty-parlor, and I'd jokingly ask, "What *happened* to you?" The self-conscious grin that answered me could just as well have come from any burgeoning young woman. And the sincere, studious young woman that sat before me night after night, despite boss or blizzard, might have been white. So could the gracious, unaffectedly charming, young mother of two adolescents, a woman who worked ungrudgingly, yet never stuffily, for the betterment of her community. The humor that emerged from her composition dealing with her son on his first job and with hero-worshipping sister-victim might just as well have come from a 100 percent Caucasian.

Mr. Brownson, of course, could have been the same in an all-white school. He merely looked and sounded like a well-groomed, exceedingly well-spoken gentleman just back from the sunny South. But the 250-pound Mrs. Black looked the type, all right. She spoke in dialect and had a "typical" hearty laugh. Whenever, in my reading of Negro literature, I'd come upon a strange expression, she was always delighted to explain it to me, recalling her own rural past. And yet, I could never refer to standard authors and literary works without her showing a thorough familiarity with them.

STUDENTS GRATEFUL

It was only when I was registering students for the following term that I learned something more about her background. She was a college graduate, taking high school English only because some teacher registering her the previous term had insisted arbitrarily that she take English along with the desired commercial courses. Yet she wasn't bitter. Some groups have borne the cross so long that they have learned to bear it with grace.

This ability to bear is not, of course, universal. You can even find a hypersensitive, narcissistic "sore-head," as everywhere else. I had only one such student, but I remember him well when it came to his response to criticism. Our students, badly in need of help in writing, are grateful when they get it, for they have been short-changed in education as in life.

But this student had a far better than average command of writing skill. Yet, when I ventured to offer some suggestions for further improving his work, he immediately began to criticize *me*, arguing, sneering, and in general rejecting my intimations that his work was anything but perfect. And if, in the course of my teaching, he disapproved of whatever I did or said, he had no hesitation in saying, quite loudly, "Stupid! How stupid!" Fortunately, he soon dropped out, and the class felt no loss.

I mention him merely to point out that Negroes are individuals, not stereotypes. I well recall the time the school had assembled during a national crisis to hear a Cabinet member speak over a nation-wide hook-up. In the open forum that followed, I remember how Mr. Waters gently asked a question — humorously critical but not bitter — which brought to the fore the disparity between democratic tenet and actual practice as regards the treatment accorded his people, and had the audience chuckling. How differently from Mrs. Black he bore his burden!

I've forgotten his question, but were he a beast of burden, as some would have him, and given by Aesop the power of speech, he would be looking up at his master astride him, and asking, with the merest suspicion of stress, "Did you say *we're going* to a party?" Stereotype, indeed!

STEREOTYPED THINKING

Yet I myself find it easy to think in stereotypes. That a jet-black Negro could possess a delicate sense of humor and a keen mind used to come to me as a shock. Then I got around to thinking "black but bright," (like the Biblical "black *but* comely"); and finally, well, just bright, that's all. And it's easy to label "Stupid" a fifth-term high school student who doesn't know how to make a capital "D." That the student has been, through no fault of his own, culturally and educationally underprivileged is generally forgotten.

Other factors operate as well. Often I have encountered students who have consistently impressed me (with my pedagogical "miller's thumb") as being of low IQ, only to find one day, to my amazement, strong indications of a really good mind.

"How do you explain the fact that your work is so very good today?" I'd ask.

Came the invariable reply, "Oh, I was off today, so I felt rested."

As an experiment, try yourself to put in several long-hour days of drudgery of the most menial, laborious, and uninspiring sort (feeding a mangle, say, or pushing a well-loaded hand truck) and then attempt to concentrate at night upon some difficult mental task. I have tried — and fallen asleep. The wonder of

it is that they do so well.

Take Miss Elwick, who must work as a domestic. In one of her compositions, she wrote, like a black Jane Carlyle, with great emotional power about her drudgery. Yet Jane, whose letters continue to be admired, was not a menial, and surely her love for Carlyle must have ameliorated her burden and kept her spirits up. Miss Elwick works for no Carlyle.

But our stereotyped notions cling, even to us who have a good opportunity to know better. I recall being introduced to an outside speaker by a white man who has frequently come to our school in connection with our programs. Inadvertently, he had failed to introduce a colored-woman-colleague when he introduced me to the speaker. I caught the fleeting look of pain in her eyes; then she began to hum — unconvincingly. Probably, it had never occurred to him that she, too, was a teacher. Or possibly, he felt it necessary to introduce only the chairman. I don't know what was in his mind, but I'm sure I know what was in my colleague's.

GRATEFUL TEACHER

These stereotypes can be painful all around. I call to mind one night, when a different colored woman-teacher, though ill almost to delirium, was more concerned over her professional responsibilities than over her illness. Taking her teaching materials from her and shooing her home, I locked the stuff up in my closet. When she returned from her illness, I gave her my keys.

"But how do you know you can trust me?" she asked, laughing to cover up her real feelings.

"I'll know when I get back to my closet," I joked back. This time her laugh was grateful, not bitter, and I was grateful, too.

On another occasion, I was entering the school with two colored teachers just as a couple across the street were having a violent verbal battle. I played the "Three Monkeys" but I caught my colleagues exchanging glances of shared shame. Yet, I reflected, had we three passed a brawling white couple, would *I* have been ashamed?

"If something happened now," complained one colleague, "it would be sure to be in all the papers. But nobody ever reads about our thirteen hundred students and the neighbors who lead quiet, decent, normal lives."

Negroes have traditionally been objects of amusement; yet I can think of experiences where I was more pained than amused, and where I, too, felt ashamed of my race. One such time was when I was reading Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down*, the reminiscences of ex-slaves, many of whom showed almost God-like stature in their dignity, fortitude, and magnanimity despite harrowing treatment at the hands of white men.

Eager to rid my students of this feeling of shame they share with my aforementioned colleagues, and at the same time eager to increase my students' literary background, I once decided to read excerpts from Botkin, to show that there were many people of whom they might be justly proud. But it wasn't long before I realized that these historical accounts

were too affecting. One man, gray and mellow before his time, was actually weeping, and I was sorry I had started.

At times I visited our class for the foreign-born. One night, in a lesson in oral English, a tall, Spanish-speaking man was recounting, in halting English, his first day in New York City. Aware of racial discrimination in this country, but unused to being a second-class citizen and unaware of the exact forms that the discrimination took, he was a bundle of qualms and fears. Having gone sight-seeing far away from Harlem, he had waited for hours, watching the passengers in bus after bus, until he saw another Negro boarding one and could feel free to follow suit. Not knowing English, he had been unable to put any questions to the few Negroes he had seen. Accordingly, he had gone without food for many hours, and had had to wait until he was once again back safe in Harlem.

PAINFUL ODYSSEY

My colleagues had felt ashamed over someone else's brawl; imagine my own shame now, as I vicariously joined this sensitive, warm-hearted man in his painful Odyssey. Moved by the pathos of his account, which was eloquent despite his broken English and his groping for words, I have often wondered whether, were our positions reversed, I could have been so friendly to him as he has always been to me whenever I see him in school.

My experiences, of course, are not always exclusively painful. I remember one that was amusing — later. Most particularly in my early weeks in this school, I felt ill-at-ease in the classroom, worried how I was going to be received by my students, and sensitive to their slightest sign of reaction.

Fancy how I felt, then, as a tall, well-built, bespectacled West Indian would greet me, each night as he entered, with "Good night." Was not the apparently good-natured grin that invariably accompanied the greeting, intended sarcastically? "Good night" could only mean that I was unwelcome. I stuck to my post, but the "Good night" continued to give me many an uncomfortable moment.

Finally, it occurred to me to ask how "Good night" was used in the West Indies. My hunch was right, and the student was quite surprised and chagrined to learn what he had been unintentionally implying. Far from wishing me gone, he was indeed the very man who was delegated by the class to present their gift to me at Christmas time. Normally well poised and well spoken, he was so affected by the occasion that he actually stammered, while I myself prayed for him. I felt like an old-fashioned young woman receiving from her diffident loved one a proposal of marriage. I thought he'd never get through reading the prepared speech, something I shall not part with for many years.

Since that time, I've gotten quite used to the West Indian *good nights*, but believe me, before I learned the truth, they gave me many a *bad* night.

I can also recall the bad night of a colleague on whom I had dropped in to observe. The daughter of one of the few Negro principals in north-

ern public schools, she herself was a tall, graceful young woman of considerable charm and presence. It was she who taught the foreigners. I had once suggested that she try using for instructional purposes the well illustrated mail-order catalogues, and in an evil moment, she took my advice.

LINGUISTIC PROBLEM

When I walked in, she was really in a state. Two students, a deep-voiced young man and a pretty, flashing-eyed miss were arguing away in some Spanish-American dialect.

"Really," exclaimed the teacher, "I'm so exasperated with them."

"Why, what's the matter?"

"I was trying to explain the difference between *blanket* and *bedspread,* and look what's happened. They've been at it for five minutes at least, and there's no stopping them." I smiled, for it would take years before she would learn patience.

Seeing me in the room, the students stopped to hear our colloquy. "We *do* understand what is a bedspread and what is a blanket," broke in Flashing-Eyes," but he didn't translate it right. He — "

And they were at it again, clicking their verbal castanets, while the teacher ground her beautiful teeth and I made for the door. Only the slow-coming bell, however, would spell *release* for my colleague.

Despite the fact that evening schools are to be found all over the city, and despite the fact that time is especially precious to our evening students, they come from all over the city. When white humanity raises bars, invisible yet palpable, there is a comfort in being "home" and among friends. And it is a pity that, with friends always so hard to find, we shut the door on people with such a fine capacity for true loyalty and friendship.

I have known students who, taking only half a program, could arrange to come only a few days a week, but who willingly came five nights a week just to be able to continue with a beloved teacher.

I also remember entering an overcrowded class in the hope of shifting students to an equally likable, equally competent teacher who had only a small number of students. Yet, despite the obvious advantages of going to a smaller class, I could obtain only a handful of students willing to transfer. The others were too devoted to their present teacher.

As I was leaving, a motherly woman-student near the door called out, laughing, "Don't you come back, now." And she spoke for all. Night school students everywhere are an appreciative lot, but I have never seen so much gratitude and devotion in white classes. If a teacher is competent, fair, sincere, and understanding, his Negro night-school students' love will flow out to him from a well that knows no drought.

During an earlier term, when this same, much-loved teacher returned after a serious illness, the students showered him with gifts. Yet the average adult student at Dunbar earns less and works harder by far for his money than the average white.

LOW IQ

It is this love which, in turn, causes one middle-aged, white spin-

ster-colleague to invite our students to her home for extra lessons, gratis. She has come to know that the intelligence is there, and that what some teachers take for low IQ is often actually fatigue, low morale, and poor educational background.

I sometimes would give examinations for elementary night school students desiring to qualify for entering high school. On one examination night, I saw a student trying to take the examination despite the handicap of a thickly bandaged index finger. He couldn't bear to think of waiting for the next examination. How grateful he was when I offered to give him a special examination when his finger was healed.

My day-school students are constantly winning scholarships offered all over the country. I could wish for scholarships for my tired, earnest, far worthier night school students.

JEERS IGNORED

Outside the school, at dismissal time, stand some teenage Stage-door Johnnies, who jeer at the emerging men and women: "Sucker! Grown folks going to school! Yah! But the grown-ups grin good-naturedly and keep on coming. Even in the face of repeated failure in the state examinations, these people return to try again and again. And mothers, deprived of their opportunity during youth, come back to night school even if they have to bring their tots along to sit in with them. For who can afford a nightly baby-sitter?

I used to wonder what the kids did all evening in the restrained atmosphere of the classroom, especially when the subject matter held no interest for them. And then one night, a Spanish-speaking student of mine came to class with her two nephews. One boy, like her, bilingual, told me he was eight; the other, shy but less self-contained, showed me four fingers when I asked him his age in bad Spanish, for he spoke no English.

Recalling from my own boyhood how long an hour and a half can be for a boy constrained to sit and be quiet, I gave the brothers some blank paper and invited them to draw. And except for an abortive remark by the younger, and the elder's immediate "Shh!" the lesson reached its conclusion without incident.

"Those nephews of yours," I remarked after the closing-bell, "were exceptionally well behaved."

She glowed. "They just *had* to come. They wanted to know what night school was like, and see my teachers."

But the crowning compliment of all came, not *from* me, but *to* me. It came from one of the women who had missed hearing this conversation. The sight of the children at night school had set her beaming, and she came over to ask me, "Are those two little boys *your* children?"

"No," I laughed, "they're Miss Delgado's nephews," but I couldn't help thinking that when we white people come to look upon colored children as also ours, we will have gone a long way.

NEW LIFE MEMBER—*Mrs. Mary Woody of Orange, N. J., presents* $500 *life-membership check to NAACP president Arthur Spingarn while NAACP board members, Kelly Alexander (left) of Charlotte, N. C., and Dr. Allen Jackson of Hartford, Conn., look on.*

BOTTOM: *Members of Pittsburgh, Pa., youth council solicit funds from local theatres for Harry Moore fund: Gloria Fuller, council president; James Van-Loan; Mrs. Marx, manager of Dominoes; Bill Ward; and Dorothy Kendricks, corresponding secretary. The group collected* $40.

■ How one of America's oldest landlords does business

Not for Sale

By Robert G. Jones

For forty-seven years there has been peace between one of America's oldest landlords and his tenants. This landlord is the New York African Society for Mutual Relief. But in 1947 disturbing rumors began to ruffle the calm relations between the Society and its tenants occupying property in West 66th Street between Columbus Avenue and Central Park West. Gossip had it that West 43rd Street, one of the Society's holdings, was going to be sold to a television station. The tenants were uneasy, and they wanted explanations.

But the agitation of the twenty families involved did not for a moment disturb the traditional serenity of the NYASMR. As it has done for the last 150 years, the Society's board issued a statement: "We do not plan to sell."

This unique landlord has been in business ever since 1784, five years before the adoption of the United States Constitution. Of the country's 59,311 free Negroes, many lived in New York City; and their anomalous position as a free people in a slave economy made their lives extremely difficult. According to the Negro historian Benjamin Brawley, the free Negro of the post-Revolutionary War was "often regarded as idle and shiftless, and as a breeder of mischief; but if he showed unusual thrift, he might be forced to leave his home and go elsewhere. . . ."

In 1784 the Negroes of New York City decided to organize in order to secure more of those rights later guaranteed in the Constitution adopted five years later. Many Negro soldiers had just returned from the Revolutionary War where they had been indoctrinated with the slogans of Liberty, Independence, and Freedom from Tyranny. These freemen had the knowledge of organization gained in the army and from reading, for many had education. Actually the first school for "Africans and their descendants" had been established in New York City by the Frenchman Elias Neau in 1704. These factors, plus the inspiration drawn from the anti-slavery activities of John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, had combined to make the founding of the Society possible.

ROBERT G. JONES, *one of the tenants at 43 West 66th Street, works for the Urban League of Greater New York.*

PURPOSE OF SOCIETY

Since most Negro groups used the term "African" to designate their activities in those days, the organization became the African Society for Mutual Relief.

Stated purpose of the Society was "beneficial and social" and membership was open to all Africans and persons of African descent. Although the Society was started in 1784, it is not until June 6, 1808, that we learn of a publicly recorded meeting which took place in the School House for Colored Children in Rose Street. This secrecy of its early years was probably necessary to prevent trouble, both legal and extra-legal. The Society drafted and adopted a constitution and elected officers. First elected president was William Hamilton, reputed son of Alexander Hamilton and printer and publisher of the *People's Press.*

When the Society received its charter under the laws of the State of New York on March 23, 1810, it distinguished itself from other African societies by placing the phrase "New York" before its name. The group now began among other things, to work for "the manumission of slaves and protecting such of them that had been liberated." It bought a piece of property, its first, on January 18, 1820, a two-story frame building on a plot 25 x 75, on what is now Baxter Street. It was known as Orange Street at the time and located near the Old Tombs. This was the Society's building that housed the first "grammar school for Colored People."

Officers and members of the Society were quick to sense the need for local Negro housing, since the Census of 1820 revealed that 10,886 of the country's free Negro population of 233,634 lived in New York City. So in 1845 the Society replaced its wooden structure on Baxter Street with a brick building, moving the frame house to the back of the lot where it became a sailor's boarding house. Part of the inscription on the brown-stone tablet reads: "Erected in June 15, 1845, ONE GOD, ONE PEOPLE."

During the period following 1845, the Society was very active in the underground railroad movement. A section of the Baxter Street building was long used as an "underground" station. This was discovered years later when workmen razing the old building discovered a dummy wall running its entire length. And behind this wall was a secret chamber.

Many of the Society's men had fought in the northern armies during the Civil War, and it is recorded that Peter Vogelsand, an active member, volunteered and rose to the rank of lieutenant. Others held non-commissioned posts.

One of the worst tragedies to strike the Society came in January, 1867, when a fire in the meeting room at 107 Leonard Street destroyed many of the early records. However, the members continued to meet in the basement of a church on Mulberry Street despite this loss.

SECOND VENTURE

The Society's second recorded venture in the realty field was the purchase of 27 Greenwich Avenue, in 1869. In 1900 the Baxter Street property was sold as "many times higher than the purchase price." It was then

that the organization decided against acquiring any more property below 14th Street for residential purposes. As a replacement for the Baxter Street holdings, the Society bought 43 West 66th Street in 1900. The building was completely remodeled in the 1930's and recently was said to be a source of "splendid income."

The Society has always been fortunate in its leadership ever since its founding in 1784. Although most of them would be unknown today, it is interesting to note the variety of occupations they followed. They were carpenter, cabinet maker, master boot and shoe maker, feed stock dealer, restaurant owner, teacher, editor and publisher, pickle processor, bank cashier for the ill-fated New York branch of the Freedman's Bank, and a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. One of them was Cato Alexander, he joined the Society in 1816, who owned a Tavern at old "Cato's Lane," now 23rd Street and Third Avenue.

AFTER 1850

Some of the members after 1850 were Charles Lewis Reason, principal of school No. 6 on Broadway between 35th and 36th Streets, who also served on the New York City Board of Education from 1856 to 1893; Peter Ray, born in 1825, who served as a surgeon for the Army of the Republic during the Civil War, and owned a drug store for fifty years at the corner of what was then Second and Hooper Streets in Brooklyn, now part of the Williamsburg Bridge Plaza. Lewis H. Latimer, an electrical engineer who made the original drawings for Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, was a member. In 1878 Lewis became associated with Thomas Edison and was sent to London, England, in 1880 by General Electric to supervise the installation of that city's street lighting system.

So when people say the tenants of 43 West 66th Street are a proud lot, it is not without reason, for they will tell you the Society is very careful about whom it selects to rent its apartments, and that it has always had a long waiting list even when housing was plentiful. They will tell you also that the Society has always been interested in good character. This was characteristic of all the African Mutual Aid Units. One of the rules in the early days read: "No drunkard or disorderly person could be admitted as a member and any member becoming disorderly could be dismissed without receiving any of the subscription money."

The Philadelphia African group once tried one of its members for improper conduct, and on September 20, 1788, found that he had "So shamefully deviated from our known rules, hath often unnecessarily left his tender wife and child and kept company with a common woman, sometimes quarreling, fighting and swearing, for which he hath been long and tenderly treated with, but he has not forsaken his shameful practices; we therefore disown the said Samuel S. from being a member of our Society, till he condemns the same in life and conversation, which is our desire for him."

Despite the Society's good life there was a revival of the rumors that the Society's 66th Street prop-

erty was for sale. For a few months things actually began to happen. Durland's Riding Academy on the same side of the street was sold to a television outfit and remodeling begun. Though in October, 1948, the first television broadcast was made from the former stable, this did not worry the tenants of 43 too much. Hadn't they been told that "The Society was not planning to sell"? Besides a television studio would be a much better neighbor than the riding academy with its stench of hay and manure, and there would be less horse flys.

In the summer of 1951, the African Mutual Relief Society's tenants saw Wilson's Storage Warehouse sold to television. That was quite disturbing, since the warehouse was the adjacent building on the east. And the Society's tenants learned at about the same time that the three buildings immediately to the west had been sold to television. Now they were surrounded and alarmed. Even the roof of 43 W. 66th Street had been covered with aerial by the builders remodeling the warehouse. When some of the tenants complained to the contractor's foreman he replied, "Oh, we own this house along with the rest and have a right to use the roof."

Again there was chaos. Again the Society was asked to state its position. For a while there was silence, to be broken by this announcement: "The New York African Society for Mutual Relief has not sold, nor does it plan to sell Forty-three." The tenants of 43 now relaxed in the knowledge that they could continue to inhabit their historic buildings.

That Atgier suggests the Phenician "Mahourin," often written "Maghrebin," as the probable origin of "Moor"?

Atgier says ("Bulletins and Memoirs of the Paris Anthropological Society," Vol. 5, 5th Series, 1904, p. 110) that "Mahourin" meant "the Western Peoples" because the Moors lived, in Africa, to the west of the Phenicians.

★ ★ ★

That freed Negroes or *forros* were common as tavern and innkeepers in sixteenth-century Portugal?

The June and July numbers of THE CRISIS are combined in one issue, June-July, out July 1.

BRANCH OFFICERS *of the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, NAACP branch hold a conference. L. to R. (seated): Dr. Waldemar Argow, vice-president; Mrs. Viola Gibson, president; Jeanne Walker, secretary; Mrs. Estelle Turner, assistant secretary; (standing) Rev. C. H. Copeland, chairman legal redress committee; L. M. Braggs, treasurer; Mrs. Emma Turner, second vice-president; and Earl Carr, youth director.* BOTTOM: *Officers of the Jolly Pals Club, Springfield, Mass., which gave its annual $50 purse to the local branch. L. to R. (seated): Mrs. Beulah Beckford, financial secretary; Mrs. Willa Bailey, president; Mrs. Bernice Lyons, recording secretary; (standing) George Beckford, program chairman; Felix Jackson, treasurer; and Sidney Lyons, business manager.*

SOME OF THE DELEGATES *in attendance at the NAACP leadership conference on civil rights held in Washington, D. C., February* 17-18, 1952. BOTTOM: *Walter White (fourth from right), NAACP executive secretary, pictured with a group of West Coast Association officials prior to his address before* 9,000 *people in the Oakland, Calif., arena on February* 24. *Members of the group (L. to R.) are Rev. J. M. Roberts, president Santa Clara branch; Franklin Williams, West Coast regional director; Mrs. Collia Scruggs, president Vallejo branch; Atty. R. J. Reynolds, president San Francisco branch; Mrs. Poppy Cannon White; Mr. White; C. L. Dellums, chairman western regional advisory committee; Mrs. Tarea Hall Pittman, president northern California area conference; and Hon. W. Byron Rumford.*

■ How the brown baby fares in post-Hitler Germany

Germany's New Pariahs

By Alfred Werner

PROVIDENCE was kind to the colored races when, after the first World War, all colonies and protectorates were taken away from defeated Germany. The record of the imperial powers is bad as far as the treatment of colored natives is concerned, yet the Germans under Emperor William II were astonishingly incapable of gaining the sympathies of the Negroes, Chinese, and Polynesians who had come under their rule. Von Trotha, Von Puttkamer, and all the other Junkers sent to Africa as governors and military commanders resorted to arms whenever natives dared complain about hardships; within a few decades the German possessions reeked of the blood of more than two hundred thousand slain black men and women.

There existed no official state policy or philosophy sanctioning the maltreatment of non-whites. It was left to Hitler to develop a rigid social system in which different ranks and tasks were assigned to different races. According to Hitler the Negroes, together with the Jews, were at the very bottom of the ladder. In *Mein Kampf*, which was carefully studied by millions, there are countless sneering references to Negroes.

It is difficult to understand Hitler's preoccupation with Negroes if one is not familiar with the history of Germany in the decade after the first World War. Very few Negroes were living in the Weimar Republic. There were some who resided there temporarily, having found employment as jazz musicians, circus performers, night club singers, boxers, and so on. Nearly all of these were foreigners with British, French, or American passports. A handful of Negroes from the former African colonies who had served in the auxiliary military forces of the Kaiser's Empire also turned up in postwar Germany, but their total number was insignificant.

In the first few years after the war large numbers of colored soldiers could be seen in Germany, particularly in the western parts adjoining Belgium and France. Some of them had come with the American Expeditionary Forces, but the Yanks left

DR. ALFRED WERNER, *associate editor of* THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM, *has traveled widely in Europe before and after the second World War. He is the author of several volumes on art and artists.*

the defeated Reich soon after the cessation of hostilities. It was different with the French Army: they stayed in western and southwestern Germany for a number of years. The French Army of Occupation included thousands of colored soldiers, especially Moroccans (whom the average German considered as Negroes, but who were actually dark-skinned Berbers) and Senegalese.

These colored troops did not behave better or worse in enemy territory than any other occupation armies yet many German chauvinists particularly resented the fact that they had been subjected to the rule of "savages." Hence, when Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* in the Landsberg fortress, he abused Negroes whenever he mentioned them. It was absurd, he claimed, to send missionaries to these primitive people; it was, in particular, a "criminal absurdity" to train "Hottentots," "Zula Kafirs" and other "born half-apes" for intellectual vocations. Negroes, he maintained, could not be educated, they could only be trained like poodles to perform tricks. He deplored the fact that a Negro, who had formerly lived in a German colony, and later moved to Germany, could give birth to a 'German citizen."

He was especially furious whenever he mentioned the colored soldiers policing the Rhineland; he could not bear the "infection in the heart of Europe through Negro blood on the Rhine," the idea that the

COLORED AND WHITE *illegitimate children (Besatzungskinder, "occupation-children") of United States occupation soldiers in a rural German nursing home near Frankfurt.*

main artery of the German people flowed "through the playground of black African hordes." He hysterically attacked France for having brought these troops into the Rhineland with the "clear aim" of ruining the white race by the "necessarily resulting bastardization." One of Hitler's disciples, a Professor Hans Eibl, elaborated on Hitler's *idée fixe* by declaring Germany to be the bastion of Kultur lodged between a Bolshevist East and "the onward march of Africa." If Germany should declare war on "negrofied" France, he maintained, she would be entirely justified, for Germany would merely be protecting Europe from *Rassenschande*, or race defilement, which the Nazis considered to be "the original sin against mankind."

JIM CROW SIGNS

From my visits to Germany in the early twenties I recall signs on shops reading: *An Franzosen und Neger wird hier nichts verkauft* (To Frenchmen and Negroes nothing will be sold here). It seems, though, that this bias was not shared by all Germans. A considerable number of German fraeuleins and hausfrauen must have taken to the alien soldiers, for some eight hundred mulatto babies came from illicit relations between these women and their soldier friends. This has meant that more than eight hundred unfortunate *Mischlinge* (bastards) have been suffering ever since from these unions. Mothers often abandoned their babies in the search for their lovers who, with their contingents, had been moved to other areas or sent overseas. Some of these German mothers, who were often poor laundresses, waitresses, and servant girls, placed their children in foundling homes; the dark-skinned babies would have been held against them by chauvinistic and intolerant neighbors as undeniable proof that they had "surrendered" to the "enemy."

These children grew up under the stigma of illegitimate birth and with the additional burden of their dark skins. Their parents were alive somewhere, yet they were orphans nevertheless. Because of their birth on German soil they were German citizens, and German was their native tongue. Yet when the rising tide of Nazism flooded the Reich, being "non-Aryans," they were reduced to the status of secondary citizens. When the Second World War broke out, many of the male mulattoes had reached military age, yet the Master Race did not consider them worthy to shed their blood for the Third Reich. In some instances Germans of partly Negro origin were put into slave labor camps together with Jews, Gypsies, and other "undesirable" elements. In other cases Mulattoes were forcibly sterilized lest they endanger the purity of the Aryan race.

NEGRO JEW

The Negro press has reported one typical case of a colored German who, freed from a concentration camp, was unable to find any but the lowest type of work in post-war Germany, although he had been trained as a dancer. In a Jewish magazine I found a strange story about a Negro Jew who had had some bad experiences in Germany. His grandparents — who belonged to the tribe of colored Jews named

Falashas — had moved from Ethiopia to the Gold Coast, and his parents had taken him to Germany when he was only two years old. In Berlin he married a Christian German who embraced the Jewish religion, and they had two children. After the Nazis came to power, the couple were thrown into a concentration camp. The unfortunate woman died there, but her husband lived to see the end of the Third Reich. He regained possession of his children, and the three emigrated to Palestine in the hope of finding peace at last.

Compared to figures of the first World War, the total number of *Besatzungskinder* ("occupation-children"), including both white and mulatto children, is now astronomically high. In 1919 and thereafter only a small section of Germany was occupied by enemy forces, which were relatively small; today Germany harbors many divisions of American, English, French, and Russian soldiers who have divided the Reich up amongst themselves like a cake. We do not know the number of *Besatzungskinder* in the Soviet Zone of Germany, but the *Hamburger Freie Presse* claims that there are 250,000 of them in the Bonn Republic, i.e., Western Germany. Most of these infants are in an unfortunate situation, for their fathers simply ignore their existence. There is no law by which Allied soldiers can be made to submit to a paternity test. Hence, they cannot be sued for support by the mothers of their children. Recently, the British Army urged its soldiers to take care of their offspring in Germany, but no similar demand has ever been made by American commanders. Only on the express wish of a soldier can part of his salary be deducted and transferred to mother and child, but such cases have been rare. Even if a soldier-father decides to send his love-child to the United States, the child gets no preferred quota, but has to wait on the overcrowded waiting list.

For the time being, the Bonn Republic, heavily burdened with the task of paying reparation and housing millions of refugees from the East, has adopted this unfortunate quarter million of youngsters. Their number is on the increase, for there are still troops in Germany. In the 1920's, when the number of these children was relatively small, and when Germany was left virtually intact by the war, the *Besatzungskinder* constituted no real problem. But today, in the bombed and hungry Federal Republic, the quarter million constitutes a grave responsibility. As in the 1920's, the majority of these children — some of whom are now five to six years old — are "orphans" for all practical purposes, since they have been abandoned by both father and mother; the state has established make-shift foster homes for them, and German citizens have been footing the bill.

AMERICAN FATHERS

Today, the fathers of the mulatto children (of whom there are several thousands) are solely American, for the only colored soldiers in the armies of occupation are to be found in the U. S. forces. The tragedy of the early twenties repeats itself, only on a vastly larger scale. It is much

harder to place a Negro baby with German foster parents than a white child. And there is always unhappiness if a single mulatto child is placed in a home among white children.

How was it that German women, infused by Hitler and Goebbels for twelve years with all the nonsense of Aryan superiority and race defilement through relations with inferior races, received Negro soldiers with open arms? It must be remembered that poverty and hunger softened the racialism and chauvinism even in the case of diehard Nazi women who would submit to any foreign soldier in exchange for a package of cigarettes or a chocolate bar. German girls had, as members of the Hitler Youth, heard Negroes described by their "educators" as the epitome of evil, even worse than Jews. They now began to appreciate the kindness and genuine warmth of the American Negro. When Negro units were moved from one town to another, swarms of weeping German women crowded the railroad stations in order to see their boyfriends off. It is very likely that many a colored GI would have liked to marry a fraeulein, especially if she were expecting a child, yet to my knowledge no such marriage have ever been approved. Some colored GIs, however, have wed French and Italian girls, and, after being discharged from the army, decided to remain in the Old World.

SCHOOL PROBLEM

Today, some of the mulatto children are old enough to be sent to school, and at this point the real problem starts. Shall these children be reared in segregated schools, or shall they be educated together with white children? The City Council ot Bremen, which is an American enclave surrounded by British-occupied territory, has decided upon the former of these possibilities: next spring the first set of twenty-five mulatto children will be instructed in a separate class. Whether or not this "solution" is a healthy one is currently being hotly discussed in the German press.

Recently a liberal German organ, the *Frankfurter Rundschau,* asked its readers to declare whether they preferred the first or the second solution, and to state their reasons. Some readers maintain that it is better not to separate the children according to race, for otherwise they will feel no common ground in the future. Others, however, believe that segregation is in the interest of the colored children, who would not be exposed in their sensitive youth to the maliciousness of their white classmates. If, as adults, they should run into race prejudice, they would be mature and strong enough to cope with it. Other readers maintain that the initial quarreling between these two groups of children will soon cease, and that they will quickly learn to respect one another for quality and achievement alone.

For the time being it is too early to predict the future of these children. So far they are too young to anticipate the troubles the world may have in store for them. It is said that they weep more frequently than their white playmates, not because they are abused, but simply because, like their fathers, they cannot stand the terrific winter cold prevalent in some parts of Germany.

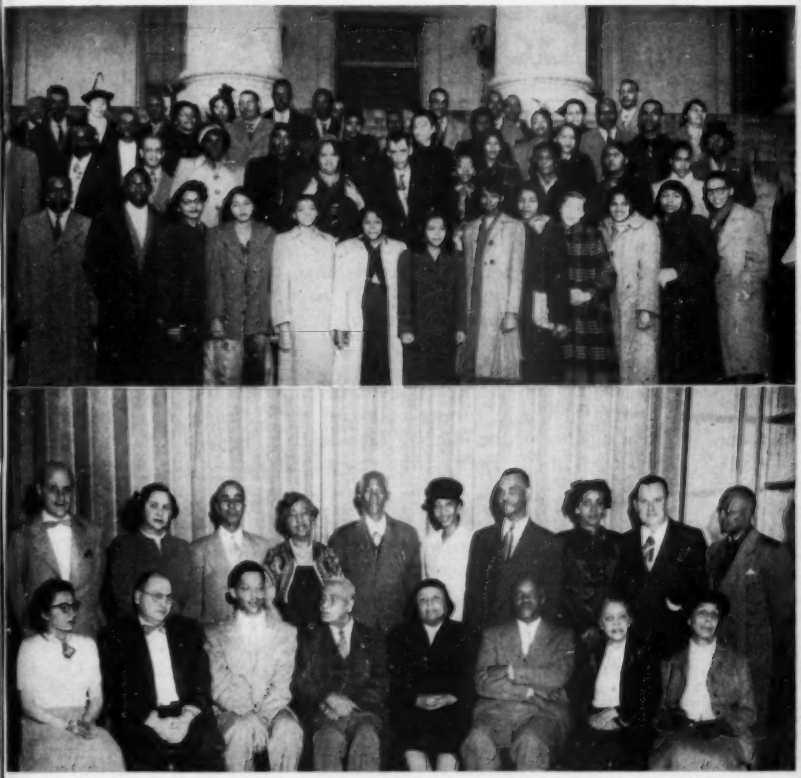
It is very likely that ten or fifteen years from now they will have more reasons, and deeper ones, for weeping. Notwithstanding the personal decency of many Germans who successfully resisted the poison of racialism in the bleak era of 1933-45, there are enough left who cling stubbornly to the teachings of the late Fuehrer. At the same time anyone who, like this writer, has traveled in Germany, cannot help noticing that some white GIs, far from teaching Germans the tenets of democracy, have poisoned them with a good deal of jim crowism. Innocent German teenagers learn from these self-styled "teachers" that the "race line" ought not to be crossed, and that Negroes are supposed to "keep their place," especially as regards white women.

FEW JEWS

There are relatively few Jews left in Western Germany, and even fewer in the Soviet Zone. Hitler "solved" the "Jewish problem" by forcing the Jews to emigrate, and by killing off those who were unable to escape. Will the colored German replace the Jew as scapegoat? Perhaps not, but any trained psychologist and psychiatrist can predict that the unfortunate mulatto children of today are bound to be neurotic, unhappy adults by 1965 or 1970.

Not only will these people have lacked the attention and love ordinarily supplied by father and mother. They will also develop a certain amount of bitterness, distrust, and over-sensitivity characteristic of all small minorities. It will be a pity to see the growth of a few thousand Germans who, though born on German soil, and reared in German schools, will never acquire social status because their skins may be a shade darker than those of their neighbors. Since it is unpredictable whether Germany, now paying lip-service to democracy, will continue to be democratic, the future of these second-class Germans looks anything but bright. As adolescents, they may be excluded, or, at best, frowned upon, at school dances, excursions and other social affairs. As young men and women, they may have difficulties in finding marital partners ready to tolerate their different color and features. Will they be reduced to such a status as to be allowed only the poorest and worst-paid type of work? Will prostitutes and pimps stem from this group of ste-children of Fate?

The Christian churches in Germany are well aware of these questions. These children, they argue, are valuable human material, but they can develop normally only in an atmosphere free of stifling influences. Hence, German clergymen think of the possibilities of sending them to the United States where, jim crowism notwithstanding, the atmosphere seems to be cleaner and brighter. The Americans, after all, are not Nazis, and it will be easier for these three or four thousand children to merge and be happy within a colored population of more than thirteen million. Whether such a transfer would constitute a democratic solution is doubtful. But there is no question that it is a practical solution that might spare these individuals many troubles and heartaches in the years to come.



VICTIMS OF RACIAL SEGREGATION *in Prince Edwards county, Virginia. Some of the parents and students who figured prominently in the most comprehensive educational suit brought thus far by the NAACP. The Association argued that segregation in itself constitutes inequality and asked for a decree from the court to enjoin the operation of the Virginia segregation laws as they apply to schools.* BOTTOM: *Executive committee of the Denver, Colorado, branch. Back row (L. to R.): Frank Conrey, Mrs. Ola Thornton, William Pinkett, Mrs. Grace McCain, Charles Young, Mrs. M. L. Joiner, James Chappell, Mrs. Alma Cole, Howard Wildman, and B. J. Slater. Front row: Mrs. Helen Gordon, Samuel Menin, Irving Andrews, W. F. Turner, Mrs. Mildred Stevenson, A. S. Fisher, Mrs. Bertha Clark, and Mrs. Daisy Jones.*

Good News

Sara Vaughan, reputed to have "the smoothest tone in the world," was awarded the *See Magazine* "See-in Stars" award in March.

★ ★ ★

English heads at Atlanta University, North Carolina College at Durham, and Hampton Institute have joined to edit *My Life, My County, My World,* an anthology of readings for use as a freshman college text. The editors are Dr. N. P. Tillman, Atlanta; Dr. W. E. Farrison, North Carolina College; and Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, Hampton Institute.

★ ★ ★

Olive M. Diggs, community relations assistant for the Chicago Land Clearance Commission, and former editor of the *Chicago Bee,* has been named assistant director of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations. She replaces the Rev. A. Leon Bailey, who resigned to devote full time to his church activities.

★ ★ ★

Dr. C. Waldo Scott has been named to the Newport News, Virginia, city school board by the city council. Dr. Scott, who succeeds Allan R. Hoffman, was elected by a 3-2 vote. He is the second Negro to sit on the Newport News school board, the first having been the late N. B. Clark, who held the position from 1898 to 1901. Dr. Scott is a graduate of the local Huntington High School, Howard University, B.S. and M.S., and the University of Michigan, M.D.

★ ★ ★

Charles H. James of Institute West Virginia has been named dormitory representative at the University of Pennsylvania, where he is a student in the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance. He is a graduate of West Virginia State College.

★ ★ ★

William M. Brewer of Washington, D. C., is the new editor of *The Journal of Negro Education,* succeeding Dr. Rayford W. Logan, who resigned in December, 1951. Mr. Brewer was trained in history at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Wisconsin universities and has long been connected with the *Journal* as a contributor.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, delivered the Henry B. Wright lecture series at the Yale University Divinity School April 15-17. Dr. Mays is the first Negro to give a major lecture series at Yale.

■ A sketch of three Uruguayan painters

Negro Painters in Uruguay

By Irene Diggs

SMALL from point of view of territorial extension and the number of its inhabitants, Uruguay is nevertheless one of the most interesting countries of the Western Hemisphere because of its social, economic, intellectual and artistic development. Uruguayans have an extraordinary interest in the arts. In 1937 the Government of the Republic sponsored the exposition of Pedro Blane Viale, painter. In 1945 the Ministry of Education through the National Fine Arts Commission organized a posthumous exposition of Pedro Figari, generally conceded as the artist most representative of Uruguayan painting.

From many points of view Figari paintings are original and individualistic. He is the painter of Uruguay's past. On his canvases intimate memories of a national life unknown to many and forgotten or hidden by others find expression: old "first" families and vernacular scenes, wide and spacious patios where the señoras conversed and sipped maté with their Negro domestics; scenes of Negroes dancing the *candombé* and the *pericón* or gathered for a *velorio;* indigenous interpretations of the gaucho, the *china* and the Negro in their daily labors, joys and sorrows. In addition there are glimpses of the *estancias* and colonial architecture. What a pity that Figari is not better known in North America.

Many and varied are the interpretations of contemporary Negro painters who are even less known than Figari: Ramón Pereyra, Enrique Soto and Victor Ocampo Velaza.

Victor Ocampo in the early nineteen hundreds began to study painting with Horacio Espondabura, disciple of Juan Manuel Blanes; later he studied with Federico Renom and Juan Peloffo. However, he gives greatest credit to Francisco Sciutto of Sicily, who migrated to Montevideo at the turn of the century, and with whom he painted much of the scenery in the celebrated theatres of that day: Cibilo and Solis. During the

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DR. IRENE DIGGS, *professor of anthropology at Morgan State College, spent several months in Uruguay in 1946.*

civil war of 1904, Ocampo worked in Buenos Aires with the Italian Fantini, at his specialty, in the Opera and with Fiorani in the old Theatre Victoria, and also in the then new art of "retouching" in a studio operated by a North American named Chandler. The twenties found Ocampo again in Montevideo.

His "El Nacimiento" in the tradition Florentine, was exhibited in the *Salon Nacional* of Uruguay in 1924 along with another entitled "Cuentos de Viaje." The following year in the *Salon Nacional* appeared "Un Candombé en la Noche de Reyes." In the *Salon Muncipal* of 1943 he exhibited "Naturaleza Muerta" and "Cabeza." Other works

"El Arriero" (The Muleteer), by Ramon Pereyra.

RAMON PEREYRA

are: "Vista de la Rambla Gran Bretaña," 'El Taller del Tio Luis Po," "Una Lección de Baile" and "La Lavandera' exhibited in the *Exposicion de Arte Negro* in the *Associacion Cristiana de Jovenes* of Montevideo.

ENRIQUE SOTO

Enrique Soto is a scenographer and his archive of theatrical decorations is one of the most varied and complete in Montevideo, but he has also produced many paintings of contemporary life in Uruguay.

RAMON PEREYRA

In September, 1941, the *Exposicion de Tout Petit* opened in Montevideo with contributions from some ninety-nine artists. Ramón Pereyra

ENRIQUE DE SOTO

exhibited three paintings: "Trio Santo Domingo,' "La Comparsa" and "El Barrio Negro." He comes from a modest family of laborers and is progressing by his own efforts. As a child he gained the prize for paintings by children in the *Mundo Uruguayo magazine*. All his instruction in painting has been acquired from amateurs and students who paint in the Prado and from visiting and local expositions. He is a football player and a boxer.

In 1942 he exhibited works in the *Salon de Artistas de AIAPE* (Agrupacion de Intelectuales, Artistas, Profesionales y Escritores) and in the *Associaion Cristiana de Jovenes* in Montevideo. In the same year the National Commission of Tourism inaugurated an exposition in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Uruguay and Pereyra shared the honor with Figari of having presented the greater number of the paintings.

In 1943 one of his paintings was exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art, New York City; his works were also on exhibition in the annual show of the Municipal Salon of Fine Arts, again in the *Exposicion de Tout Petit* and in the *Salon de Otoño*. In the *Salon de Amigos del Arte* the directors in 1944 presented a show composed entirely of the work of Pereyra and Roberto Saenger. Almost annually since 1945 he has exhibited paintings in the *Salon Bancario de Arte* and in Estudios Rodin.

Some of his other works are: "Picnic," "Spiritual" (now in the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York), "Paro," "Martin Fierro en la Frontera" (purchased by the Museum of Modern Art) "Almuerzo" and "Madona."

VICTOR OCAMPO VELAZA

■ How a Christian girl cheers up the wounded

Master Sergeant Starling

By Peter E. Cullom

A SLENDER, smiling blonde girl walked into a Naval hospital ward carrying a sketch pad and a charcoal pencil. Wheel chairs moved in her direction and bed patients sat up or leaned on their elbows to greet her. Exclamations came from every side: "Hi, Nell." "There she is." "You are ten minutes late." It was easy to see that they were expecting this young lady. Her presence brought smiling faces and beaming eyes.

Passing down the ward between rows of beds, she waved at one and then another. She answered questions and talked with two or three at the same time, until she came to a patient in the middle of the ward. His arm was propped above his head in a most uncomfortable position. The soldier was Master-Sergeant Heyward Starling, U. S. Army, recently returned from Korea. The young lady was Nell Weaver, sophomore art student from George Washington University in the Nation's capital.

Out of appreciation for what men like Sergeant Starling are doing to turn back the Red flood in Korea, Miss Weaver spends three evenings each week in government hospitals. When this attractive and popular girl is questioned about the subject, she says simply, "I just enjoy going. I think these men deserve everything we can do for them, but they are also a lot of fun."

Asked about amusing incidents, she recalled the one about the lost artificial leg. All the patients got a big laugh out of one fellow going over the ward saying, "Is this your leg?" She also told about the man who had lost both legs. While coming from under the influence of the anesthetic he kept calling for orange juice. "If you don't bring me orange juice," he shouted, "I will come and get it." He had not come to. He did not realize that he had no legs. The men all roared at him.

"Men laugh at such things," Nell explains, "not because they are hard hearted. They always see the funny side. Those who know the American soldier 'up front' as well as in the hospital know that this cheerfulness is what makes the American youth the best soldier on earth. It is this ability to banter and wise-crack that

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CHAPLAIN PETER E. CULLEN, *a free lance writer, lives in Washington, D. C.*

keeps him going. This cheerfulness is found in the training camp, the hospital, or the fox hole. The Negro serviceman is especially noted for his keen sense of humor.

The man in the picture, Master. Sergeant Starling hails from South Carolina. However, the Army has been his home for ten years. He enlisted in 1941 and was sent to Europe with General Patton't tank corps. His industry and skill was rewarded through his promotion to Staff Sergeant and then being made a shop foreman. When the war was over he continued in the service and went to Korea with the now famous 25th Division. He was in Korea only sixty days. He was brought down by a piece of shrapnel from a Red mortar shell. A part of his wrist bone was shot away. Surgeons took bone from his upper arm to replace the wrist-bone.

HIS OUTFIT

"My outfit was surrounded by Commies," Sergeant Starling explained, "and we had to shoot our way out." He is loud in his praise of the Army Medical corps. "I could not have been treated better," he declared. He was flown from Korea to Tokyo. "Two days later, I was sent back to God's country," he said with a smile.

This master sergeant, the highest rank of a non-commissioned officer, is in the Naval Medical Center at Bethesdia, near Washington. He was operated on four times and is happy because the doctors think he will have full use of his wrist.

The Lord brought me back alive," he said wisfully as he gazed off into the distance. His head turned away for a minute. I know he was seeing again that dreadful battle. He was hearing again the eerie sound of whistling shrapnel before they burst. He was hearing the drone of fighters overhead; the tormenting boom, boom, boom of distant cannon; the rat, a tat-tat of machine guns; the screams and curses of tormented men. He turned back with a look of appreciation on his face. Appreciation for a country that puts the individual life above material things. Appreciation for loved ones, good doctors, for home; yes, appreciation for Christians like Nell Weaver, who are willing to try to make his day brighter.

"The Lord brought me back alive," he said again, "And I am going to try to serve him better."

Nell Weaver, George Washington University art student sketches Master-Sergeant Heyward Starling.

PREPARE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE—*Membership committee of the Columbus, Ohio, branch make preparations for their membership drive, which opened April 6, with an address by Senator Wayne Morse on civil rights. Seated (L. to R.): Mrs. Thelma Jackson, Charlotte Greene, Mrs. Bessie Bamks, Mrs. Gwendolyn Dugger (assistant general chairman of the campaign), Mrs. Beatrice Clark, and Mrs. Florence Greene. Standing: Fred Delk, Rev. Phale Hale (general chairman of the campaign), Samuel Stokes, Barbee Durham (branch executive secretary), Oscar Isbell (chairman membership committee), and Rev. Stanley Smith.* BOTTOM: *NAACP youth council and college chapter members in attendance at Eastern Regional Training Conference, Philadelphia, Pa., Saturday, April 5.*

CHAMPION TICKET SELLERS—*This three-man team was responsible for selling more than* $1,400 *worth of tickets for "NAACP's Great Night" at Madison Square Garden on March 6. Pictured (L. to R.) are Charles Beese, William Bryan, Rufus Smith (NAACP director of special fund raising) and Mrs. Thurgood Marshall.*

LA FONDA POLICY

In the March *Crisis*, at page 150, it was stated that no Negro had ever stayed at the La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Mr. R. L. Chambers, author of the article, "The Negro in New Mexico," writes that La Fonda has apparently changed its "for white only" policy since he wrote his piece. He says that a Negro stayed at the La Fonda Hotel in March and he wants his readers apprised of this fact.

RESOLUTIONS ON PROGRAM AND POLICY TO BE CONSIDERED AT FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

In accordance with Article IX, NAACP Constitution (Blue Book), the following proposals for change of policy and/or program and constitutional amendments have been submitted to the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for consideration by the Forty-Third Annual Convention:

AMENDMENT TO BRANCH CONSTITUTION

East Chicago Indiana Branch
Received in National Office April 24, 1952

That Article Two (2) of the Constitution be amended by adding another section to said Article Two, which said added section shall be known as section Eight (8) of Article Two, and shall read as follows: "No appointed officer of committees of the local branch shall be considered as an officer of the Association or the branch within the framework of Article Four (4) Section (5) of said constitution."

That Article Five (5) Section Two (2) be amended by striking out the word "entitled" preceding the words "to receive The Crisis" and by inserting after the words "additional fee" the following words: "and failing to receive said Crisis for twelve full issues, he shall be given credit for two years membership in the Association for the said $3.50 paid by him."

That Article Thirteen Section Two (2) be amended by inserting the following sentence "The youth adviser shall be a member of the branch with which the said youth council or junior council is affiliated" in appropriate context.

That Article Thirteen Section Three (3) be amended to read as follows: "That not less than two nor more than three names shall be submitted to the senior branch by the youth council or junior youth council."

POLICY

New Orleans Louisiana Branch
Received in National Office April 17, 1952

WHEREAS, Article XVI, Section 1 of the 1951 edition of the Constitution and By-Laws for branches of the NAACP states "The fiscal and business year of the branch shall begin January 1 and end December 31, and

WHEREAS, the policy of the NAACP as it relates to membership is inconsistent with this section, and

WHEREAS, this inconsistency is due to the national office dating membership cards from date received and said cards stating that membership is good for 1 year from date, and

WHEREAS, branches may and should hold their membership campaigns during any period in the calendar year that it deems advisable and the best interest of the Association, and

WHEREAS, this policy works hardships on branches and individuals, when soliciting membership inasmuch as prospective members cite that membership renewal is not due, and

WHEREAS, it is not possible to control all call backs that are cited for the purpose of enrolling membership, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the annual convention of the NAACP direct the administrative officers to change this policy of dating membership upon receipt of application, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that said officers be directed to date all memberships as of January 1 of the current calendar year, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that said officers be directed to delete and amend phrase on membership card from "Is a ..... member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for one year from date" by deleting after the word "People," the words "for one year from date" and amending same by adding for the year 1953 and/or current year.

New Orleans Louisiana Branch
Received in National Office April 17, 1952

WHEREAS, from experience it requires at least a month to have membership certificates delivered from the national office, and

WHEREAS, it creates quite an amount of anxiety and distrust on the part of potential members, and

WHEREAS, it is a consistent source of attack on branch Officials and workers, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the 1952 Conference direct the national office to employ the mechanics to expedite the handling and returning of membership certificates to not over 15 days from date of receipt of reports of membership from branches.

Atlanta Georgia Branch
Received in National Office April 24, 1952

WHEREAS, branchwork in the more densely populated areas of the South is suffering from the lack of strong secondary leadership, intimidation from reactionary forces, shortage of financial resources and general apathy, and

WHEREAS, these conditions result in serious adverses to the protection of human rights, securing of justice, equal protection under the law, adequate educational, health, recreational and employment facilities and opportunities, as well as the strengthening of the electorate, which is so essential to the advancement of full citizenship, and

WHEREAS, voluntary leadership has not been able to develop the facilities of the NAACP in these areas to the extent of reaching the masses of our people in such ways as to give them adequate information, encouragement, support, confidence in leadership and the necessary burning desire to affiliate themselves actively with the program of the Association,

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the 43rd Annual Conference of the NAACP go on record as approving the appointment of an executive secretary and the establishment of an office under direction of the branch department, through each state conference in Region V, where the resources of the state conference are not sufficient to finance such a project alone,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that each state conference so assisted, pledge itself to contribute at least $1,500 annually to the national office, as its share of the cost of its respective state office.

New York City Branch
Received in National Office April 24, 1952

WHEREAS, the problems of colored peoples of the world are similar to the problems of Negroes in the United States, and

WHEREAS, the NAACP has openly protested against the treatment of colored peoples in many parts of the world, and

WHEREAS, the NAACP has recognized the United Nations as a medium by which a protest against colonization, exploitation and the denials of the principles of self government as practiced against many colored peoples of the world, and

WHEREAS, the opportunities for integrating the program of NAACP which call for first class citizenship for peoples of all races, nationalities and ethnic groups, should assume an international role,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the 43rd Annual Conference of the NAACP

(*Continued on page* 316)

Looking and Listening . . .

RACE LABELING

ATTORNEY Herbert Bebb (of the firm of Reinhardt, Bebb and Davis) and the City Club of Chicago, Illinois, have been fighting race labeling by the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. It seems that the "Trib" is the only Chicago metropolitan paper that does this consistently. In a pamphlet titled "It is Still 'John Smith, Negro' in the Tribune," the Club compiles a devastating indictment of the *Tribune's* race-labeling practices. Fascimile reproductions of news stories from the *Tribune* show that in every instance in which a Negro was accused of a crime the paper used the race tag.

This is what the pamphlet has to say on the futility of the "Negro" label:

We concede the propriety of applying the Negro label to a fugitive from justice. Although it does not describe him physically, it may furnish a clue as to his probable contacts and thereby help apprehend him. In this connection, however, it is of interest that on the Williams jail break the 12-line police description of the killer which appears as a preamble to the Tribune's report of August 16 (center spread, col. 6) does not use the word 'Negro.' Instead, it lists specific characteristics such as 'dark brown skin,' 'large lips,' 'wide nose' and 'kinky hair.' This is a recognition that the race label, 'Negro,' has practically no value for identification. If it had been used alone, it would not necessarily have meant that the killer had any of the named characteristics.

What Negroes have in common is not skin color, or hair kinks, or thickness of nose and lips, but subjection to economic and social pressures to keep them 'in their place.' The Negro label serves this purpose and usually no other purpose. It does not help readers to an informed opinion as to the comparative behavior of Negroes and Caucasians, partly because contributing factors such as educational handicaps and poor housing are ignored and partly because, due to their lack of prestige and influential friends, Negroes are more likely to be publicly accused, arrested and convicted than are Caucasians for comparable offenses.

The pamphlet then points out the harmful effects of race labeling not only upon the Negro, but upon other minority groups and even the city of Chicago itself:

Consider 'crime waves.' It is notorious that they are typically illusions created by news emphasis. Consider secondly the anti-Mexican feeling built up by Los Angeles papers. . . . As a third example, the news practice after World War II of labeling veterans in crime-news stories quickly produced dislike and fear of veterans. . . . In the fourth place Chicago's reputation

abroad for crimes of violence is largely a figment of news treatment.

Since many white people have contact with Negroes only through what they read, race labeling creates the impression that Negroes are criminally inclined, and much more so than other groups. This could reach the point where *Tribune* readers would automatically associate "Negro" with moral depravity. To paraphrase a couplet from Gilbert and Sullivan's *Utopia, Limited*:

The *Trib's* a wicked journal which undertakes to show
That "Negro" is but label for a racial form of woe.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that Attorney Bebb was given an award by the Human Relations Commission of Chicago last December for his fight to better human relations by removing race labeling from news stories.

AREA MERCHANTS

NEGROES in St. Louis, Missouri, are up in arms against white cafes in Negro neighborhoods which refuse to serve colored patrons. What exasperates is the fact that these merchants get most of their profits from the Negro community. The *Argus* investigated some of these cafes and discovered that they would not even serve a cup of coffee to a Negro. The owners said their policy was not to serve Negroes, and directed them to Negro cafes in the same neighborhood. Ironically, one of these cafes is on property owned by a Negro.

The "for white only" merchant in a Negro neighborhood seems to be largely a southern phenomenon. He is usually a cafe or drug store proprietor who refuses Negroes meals or soda fountain service, because, it seems, such service implies racial equality. Some years ago a prominent southern Negro business man was tossed out of a white store in a Negro neighborhood because he insisted on drinking a bottle of Coca-Cola in the place. Happily, this type of merchant is rapidly disappearing

HUMAN RELATIONS

THE New Orleans, Louisiana, Ministerial Interdenominational Alliance has made a unique request to their city fathers. They have suggested that a commission on human relations be made a part of the framework of the New Orleans city government. Among the functions of such a committee they suggest the following: promotion of good will and understanding among the city's ethnic groups, fostering of intercultural and intergroup education, and work at the problems which tend to divide the various groups in the city.

How much good such a commission might do is problematical, but it is probably a step in the right direction.

DOUBLE TALK

LISTEN to Senator Richard Russell (Dem.) of Georgia in a television interview, "Meet the Press," in March. Mrs. Mary Craig, one of the four reporters who interviewed the presidential hopeful, asked him some sharp questions

about the Negro. Believe it or not, one of the things for which the senator took credit was contributing more "to the welfare of the American Negro" than anyone else in the studio at that time. Basis for this silly irrelevancy was his fight for passage of the Farm Security Bill, which he claimed he got enacted without "any aid from any Negro organizations." Obviously what he means is without any help from the NAACP. And his reason for mentioning the bill is, that many Negroes have bought farms under it.

He also professes to believe that the Negro problem is "political." This, if it means anything, means that "the Negro problem" is artificial; the synthetic issue of the politician. The senator's conclusion is either a result of prejudice or a defective education.

Nor does he believe in FEPC. He justified himself on this one by saying that his views are similar to Senator Taft's and that he believes General Eisenhower is also against a compulsory FEPC.

Then there is the senator's loquacious assurance that "The American Negro has nothing to fear from me. His honest leaders will tell him that." This means that when Negro leaders tell the truth about the Georgia senator, they are "dishonest" leaders. Of course, the cockroach has nothing to fear from the chicken.

When Mrs. Craig pointed out to the senator that a Negro couldn't even drink a soda in a Washington drug store, he blathered that since the Negro had to have a soda he ought to have his own drug store. And he closed with this sophistry: "If a man wants to run a drug store and serve only red-headed people, he has just that right." These are the lineaments of a "Jeffersonian Democrat," self-definition, and a possible democratic candidate who believes in the "greatest practicable degree of local self-government."

SEGREGATION

THE General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States has again dodged the issue of racial segregation in Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches. Postponement of the vote on the segregation issue at the bi-monthly meeting held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City in March was another victory for the southern churches. Despite the wistful proclamations which churchmen adopt on brotherhood most of them still rent pews to Mr. Jim Crow.

BIAS

WHILE Governor Dewey of New York is signing a bill to outlaw racial discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation, a citizens committee in New York City is charging ten local children's agencies with maintaining a color quota.

What the Governor's bill does is to broaden the jurisdiction of the State Commission Against Discrimination to take in places of public accomodation whereas heretofore they had been restricted solely to the area of employment.

The charge of the citizens committee is that non-sectarian institutions providing foster care for

Negro and white children discriminate against the former. Therefore long-term foster care for Negro children is made extremely difficult and they sometimes remain in "temporary shelters" for as long as five years.

TRANSLATOR

ONE of the translators from the Italian in *New World Writing*, a Mentor selection newly published by The New American Library, is Ben Johnson, a young Negro writer from Fisk University now resident in Italy.

Mr. Johnson translates Giuseppe Berto's "The Seed Among Thorns" and publishers regard him as one of the best translators in the business. He also translated Italo Svevo's, "This Indolence of Mine" which appeared in the Winter 1952 issue of *The Hudson Review*. Mr. Johnson joins that small group of American Negro translators which includes Langston Hughes, C. L. R. James, Mercer Cook, and Ben Carruthers.

INFORMATION

IN Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 181, *Politics is What You Make It*, by Joseph E. McLean, we find this statement at page 11: "A third of the states now require some evidence of literacy. Some of these laws are fairly administered. In other instances, however, the literacy test is deliberately used to discriminate against would-be voters." To us the last sentence would have been more accurate if "especially if they are Negroes" had been added. For prime purpose of the literacy test is to reduce Negro voting in the southern states.

REDEFINITION

ACCORDING to a special dispatch to *The New York Times* from Johannesburg, South Africa, amendments to the Group Areas Act, designed to facilitate its administration, include an amending bill which proposes "that a white man married to a native (Negro or colored woman for purposes of the act) will be regarded as native or colored. Under existing legislation the woman follows the group of her husband, while the white man always keeps his group."

This shows the arbitrary fashion in which races are defined, and it can lead to all sorts of complicated problems for Afrikander anthropologists in the future. We suggest that the Nationalists go to school to the 17th century Spaniards in the New World with their bewildering classification of races and sub-races. Perhaps they will then learn the utter asininity of racial definitions.

STUDENT CONGRESS

AMONG the delegates in attendance at the first Inter-American Student Congress held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, January 25-February 4, 1952, was NAACP youth secretary Herbert L. Wright. Other members of the American delegation represented the United States National Student Association.

Herewith is a comment on the American delegation from the Argentine delegate Ernesto Weinschelbaum of the Argentine Uni-

versity Federation (FUA) of Buenos Aires:

United States: American delegates represented the United States National Student Association (USNSA), established on a regional basis, enrolling, according to the latest reports, 1,300,000 students in all the states. The delegates were a real racial, religious, and geographical mosaic — there was one Catholic, one Jew, two Protestants of different denominations, and a Negro student.

The USNSA holds an annual conference, attended by delegates from all over the United States, at which they make plans for the ensuing year and elect their own officers. Locally the USNSA conducts an active fight against racial discrimination. Many organizations in the southern states are denied admission because they are racist; and it happens that Herbert L. Wright, Negro student member of the American delegation, is youth secretary of the NAACP, an interracial organization which includes such people as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Philip Murray, and Ralph J. Bunche on its board of directors. The USNSA continually fights to open the doors of those universities which still bar Negro students. . . .

CURACAO AND ARUBA

Facts & Figures, edited by Ernst Schwartz for The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers of The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, reported doleful facts on the exploitation of oil refinery workers in Curaçao and Aruba:

The small islands of Curaçao and Aruba are part of the Dutch West Indies and located within the group of the so-called lesser Antilles. Without any oil deposits of their own they are important as centers for the refinement of crude oil from Venezuela. Today the largest refining plant in the Hemisphere and the second largest of the world is found here. It is the Lago Plant of the Standard Oil in Aruba and only exceeded in capacity by the now closed Abadan Refinery in Iran. Lago has a labor force of 7,000; produces 4 to 500,000 barrels a day and is said to possess the biggest catalytic cracking unit in the world. In 1950, the company made a profit of 167,000,000 dollars, a financial record, mainly due to depressed labor conditions. These conditions are maintained on the island by the common effort of the Company and the Dutch authorities.

As to Curaçao, it is the realm of the British Dutch Shell Company which owns a huge refinery near Willemstad, the capital.

The transfer of most of Venezuela's oil to both those islands for refining purposes was clearly fostered by the cheap labor supply available there. This labor force of extremely heterogenous character consists of people from the islands themselves, imported workers from some of the poorhouses of the West Indies, where in places 50 cents is considered a none too bad wage, and a sprinkling of white Americans, British and Dutch, who do supervisory and technical work. Islanders, on the one, and imported West Indians on the other hand, differ in language, racial background, and creed. The latter are of Negro stock, speak English and belong to the Protestant faith, while the former of Spanish-Portuguese, Negro, Hindu and Indian lineage, profess the Catholic religion and converse in Papiamento, a dialect of their own. All these differences cause continuous frictions, much to the liking of management which uses them to keep both parties divided and down.

In addition, British West Indians live under the steady menace of deportation

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

POLITICS

Political Action: The political action program of the Association was the principal topic under discussion at the NAACP eastern regional training conference, held in Philadelphia, Pa., in April.

Two hundred and fifty delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island, and the District of Columbia participated in the conference on political action techniques for this election year. Also under discussion were the fight against housing discrimination, the civil rights picture in the country today, and membership and fund-raising activities.

The conference was opened by Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, who discussed Senate Rule No. 22, the cloture rule, as a roadblock to the passage of civil rights legislation. Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau, reviewed the progress of civil rights bills in Congress and called upon the delegates to scrutinize the voting records of their congressmen when they go to the polls this fall.

Henry Lee Moon, NAACP public relations director and author of *Balance of Power: the Negro Vote,* discussed techniques for getting out the votes in line with NAACP policy. Lucille Black, membership secretary; and Gertrude Gorman and John W. Flamer, assistant field secretaries, acted as resource persons during the discussions on membership and fund-raising.

In the afternoon session, Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, reviewed the NAACP legal program and outlined a program for securing civil rights through legal action. A housing panel composed of Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, NAACP assistant special counsel; Charles Ford, Philadelphia representative of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO; and Hortense Gabel, of the New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, reviewed housing problems in the public and private fields and outlined steps for corrective action. Dr. Harry J. Greene, president of the Philadelphia branch, presided over the conference.

EDUCATION

Delaware School Case: Chancellor Collins J. Seitz of Wilmington, Delaware, handed down an opinion on April 1 in the Court of Chancery that would permit Negro children to attend the Claymont high school and the Hockessin elementary school.

In his forthright decision Chancellor Seitz based his opinion upon the demonstrable inequalities existing between the facilities afforded Negro pupils and those available to white children. However, he stated unequivocally: "I believe the 'separate but equal' doctrine in education should be rejected, but I also believe its rejection must come from" the United States Supreme Court.

Arguing the case on behalf of Negro school children and their parents in the Court of Chancery last October, NAACP attorneys Louis L. Redding of Wilmington and Jack Greenberg of New York asked for judicial rejection of the "separate but equal" doctrine established by a U. S. Supreme Court decision in 1896, and since used as the chief legal prop to segregation.

In support of their contention, the NAACP lawyers presented testimony by an imposing array of experts in the fields of psychiatry, education, sociology, and anthropology. These witnesses testified that segregation damages the child's capacity to benefit by education. On the basis of this testimony, Redding and Greenberg sought a decision declaring segregation is in itself discrimination and accordingly unconstitutional.

Chancellor Seitz agreed in his decision that "state-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children similarly situated." He further stated as a fact that segregation "creates a mental health problem in many Negro children with a resulting impediment to their educational progress."

However, in the absence of a Supreme Court ruling, the Chancellor felt constrained from handing down a decision invalidating the outmoded "separate but equal" doctrine. "I, therefore, conclude," he said, "that while state-imposed segregation in lower education provides Negroes with inferior educational opportunities, such inferiority has not yet been recognized by the United States Supreme Court as violating the Fourteenth Amendment."

Chancellor Seitz not only heard the testimony of the NAACP witnesses and the arguments of the lawyers; he also visited the white and Negro schools in order to get first-hand knowledge of their respective facilities. "The cold, hard fact," he asserted, "is that the state in this situation discriminates against Negro children." He found the Negro schools inferior in facilities, equipment, plant, preparation of teachers, teaching load, proximity and transportation. On the basis of these findings, he agreed to issue an injunction restraining the school authorities from denying Negro pupils admission to the all-white schools.

This decision, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, found "most encouraging." Three other NAACP cases attacking segregation in public school education in South Carolina, Virginia and Topeka are being appealed to the Supreme Court. Mr. Marshall expressed the opinion that the Delaware case "will be a valuable precedent in all these cases."

SEGREGATION

Swimming Pool Jim Crow: Segregation in publicly-owned swimming pools in Kansas City, Missouri, has been banned by a decision handed down by United States District Judge Albert A. Ridge in answer to a suit filed by NAACP attorneys.

The city, through its counsel, David M. Procter, announced on April 10 that it would appeal the decision all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary.

In a 28-page opinion, handed down on April 9, Judge Ridge found that the jim-crow swimming pool facilities which the city provides for Negroes are not equal to those provided for white citizens. Accordingly, he ruled that exclusion of Negroes from a pool reserved for white persons

GIFT FOR ASSOCIATION—*Lucille Black (left), NAACP membership secretary, accepts a check for* $603.60 *from A. Snyder, general manager of Local* 32 *of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Smiling approval at this union contribution is Lillian Gladstone, the local's educational director.*

is a denial of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The NAACP filed the case on behalf of Mrs. Esther Williams, Lena P. Smith, and Joseph M. Moore, Negro citizens who had been denied admission to the elaborate Swope Park Swimming Pool solely because of their race. The case was tried in January 15.

Although the NAACP attorneys attacked the validity of the segregation practice, contending that segregation is discrimination and therefore unconstitutional, Judge Ridge made no ruling on this issue. His decision was based upon the inequality of the facilities provided Negro and white citizens.

In his opinion, the judge reiterated the point made by the NAACP lawyers that segregation in the city's swimming pools was based only on an unwritten policy of the Park Department and not on any state law or city charter provisions.

RESOLUTIONS ON PROGRAM AND POLICY

(*Continued from page* 307)

meeting in Oklahoma City urge the national board of directors to set up a special committee to study the possibility of expanding the program of the NAACP to include more active participation and cooperation with peoples in foreign lands; to organize an international department under the auspices of an international secretary whose duties will be closely allied with the United Nations, foreign organizations and associations working towards the achievement of the objective pertaining to economic, social, political and cultural emancipation; and to work assiduously towards the realization of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and that this committee make its recommendations at the 44th Annual Meeting of the Association in June, 1953.

New York City Branch
Received April 24, 1952

WHEREAS, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is dedicated to the economic, political, civic and social betterment of colored people,

WHEREAS, the realization of such objectives are irrevocably allied with individuals elected to public office,

WHEREAS, in certain sections of the country candidates who espouse the principles and objectives of the Association are often unheralded,

WHEREAS, candidates fostering undemocratic principles and in complete discord with the objectives of the Association are highly publicized and are sponsored by the forces whose interests they are dedicated to serve,

WHEREAS, such disparity in support of candidates for public office retard the fruition of the principles and concepts of the Association,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People recommend that the Association adopt a policy of publicly endorsing candidates for public office whose concepts are in accord with those of the Association,

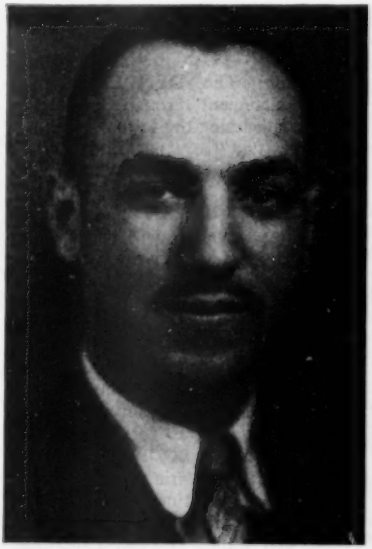
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that such endorsement of candidates shall be exercised and directed by the national board of directors.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The SAN FRANCISCO branch sends the following report on the James and Terry cases. In the O. D. James case, an illiterate Negro laborer from Fresno, who had already served nearly eight years of a life sentence for first degree murder, was released from San Quentin on January 22 on a writ of habeas corpus obtained by the branch. In the case of *Terry et al vs. the San Francisco Civil Service Commission*, the First Appellate Division of the District Court of Appeals ruled that the San Francisco Civil Service Commission had acted in abuse of its discretion and in abridgement of the constitutional rights of its applicants when it sought to limit participation in examinations to a select group of graduates from a select group of colleges.

As a result of the decision in the James case, persons charged with felony must be given competent advice and assistance in the legal conduct of their defense. If James had had proper legal advice, the court pointed out that the most he could have been convicted of (with the evidence) was manslaughter.

The civil service case ruling opens up civil-service doors to the thousands of Negro migrants who have settled in San Francisco since 1940. What the commission did was this. To be eligible to participate in civil service examinations for technical and professional assignments, the applicant had to be a graduate of a college or university either on the approved list of the Association of American Universities or the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher School. Since the majority of Negro applicants were graduates of Negro colleges in the South, they were automatically eliminated. Many whites were excluded too, but the majority were Negroes. The court ruled that this was an "unreasonable limitation



ATTY. JOHN ADAMS, JR., *a member of the law firm of Adams and Reynolds which handled the San Francisco branch cases discussed in left column.*

that deprives qualified persons of the equal opportunity to qualify for work" and was unconstitutional.

The law firm of Adams and Reynolds handled both cases. John Adams, Jr., chairman of the branch legal redress committee, was chief counsel in the James case. R. J. Reynolds, branch president, served as chief counsel in the Civil Service Commission case. Success in both cases was the result of long, hard work extending over a two-year period.

Colorado: The DENVER branch issued a statement through Samuel D. Menin condemning the Moore bombing in Florida and Governor Fuller Warren's charges that Walter White is "a bigoted meddler."

On January 13 the Denver branch played host in the New Hope Baptist church to some 500 citizens who had gathered to protest the Moore slaying in Florida. Keynote address was delivered by Rev. Rudolph Gilbert of the First Unitarian church of Denver. Among the organizations represented at the meeting were the following: American Civil Liberties Union, Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, Council of Jewish Women, Socialist Party, Unitarian church, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, International Oil Workers Union, and Rabbis Manuel Laderman and Daniel Goldberger.

Connecticut: The following report comes from the regular quarterly meeting of the executive board of the NEW ENGLAND regional conference: the Hartford branch sent two delegates to the civil rights conference in Washington; New Canaan sponsored a Harry T. Moore day; Meriden sponsored a tea for Margarette Camp of the national youth committee; Norwalk held a mass meeting in protest against the Moore murders and collected $227 for the defense fund; Waterbury sent two delegates to the civil rights conference in Washington; Springfield sold $510 worth of Christmas seals; Worcester sent two delegates to the civil rights conference in Washington; and officers and board members of the Providence branch appeared on the radio series "Our American Birthright."

Louisiana: The NEW ORLEANS branch honored Daniel E. Byrd and Atty. A. P. Tureaud, active NAACP workers, at a testimonial dinner in March.

Michigan: The GRAND RAPIDS branch reports that an FEPC measure has for the first time reached the floor of the Michigan legislature. Hereto-

ATTY. R. J. REYNOLDS *of the firm of Adams and Reynolds, San Francisco, California.*

ELISE CARRINGTON, *president of the Columbia University NAACP chapter. "Start at home" is Miss Carrigton's motto for memberships. She began by enrolling the eleven members of her own family.*

fore FEPC bills have been killed in committee. Until the 1951 session, support or opposition to these measures had followed strictly party lines. With Cramton's (R., Lapeer) introduction of a strong FEPC bill in 1951 and again this year, bi-partisan support has been achieved.

Vigorous branch protests were made against Mrs. Siegel W. Judd's statement to the Grand Rapids City Charter Commission that the local branch is a chauvinistic organization "preoccupied with Negroes as Negroes." Mrs. Judd, member of a prominent local family, is a member of the board of Citizen's Action, the political party now in control of the city administration.

Minnesota: The MINNEAPOLIS branch held mass meetings in March in protest against the recent wave of violence against Negroes.

Missouri: NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall was principal speaker at the midwest area NAACP conference held in Kansas City March 23 at the Paseo YWCA.

New Jersey: Leonard Schroeter, assistant special counsel NAACP, was guest speaker at the membership meeting of the MONTCLAIR branch on March 30.

The ELIZABETH branch reports 600 members. Its 1952 membership drive started March 16 and was continued through April 20, with 1,000 members as the goal.

New York: Arthur Chaires, a member of the SCHENECTADY branch, was sworn in March 5 as the first Negro member of the local police force. During Negro history week the branch sponsored, through the board of education, the appearance of several branch members as speakers to junior and senior high school assemblies. They were Ernest Bouey, rocket engineer at General Electric; Lt. (j.g.) Wesley Brown, USN; and Edwin M. Johnson, flight engineer at General Electric.

NAACP executive Walter White was principal speaker on April 2 at the Cooperative Evening Assemblies at Union college. This series is sponsored by twelve community organizations. The Schenectady Committee on Discrimination in Housing, under the guidance of the Union college research center, has completed a housing survey of the city to be used by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing. Three hundred copies were distributed locally to community groups, and James Carey of IUE-CIO requested 300 copies for nation-wide distribution.

Sixteen branches were represented at the February 23 meeting of the execu-

tive board of the New York state conference of NAACP branches. James Egert Allen, president of the state conference for fifteen years, after issuing a 16-page review of his work with the New York City branch and the state conference, says that he will not be a candidate for re-election this year. "My stepping down," he explains, "does not mean that I am leaving the work of the organization which I have known well for the past twenty-one years."

Pennsylvania: The annual membership drive of the PHILADELPHIA youth council began April 20 and will last until May 29, with Ralph White as membership secretary. The following have been appointed as area leaders: Ethel Green, South Philadelphia; Betty Oakes, North Philadelphia; Dolores Maiden, West Philadelphia; and Aerojean Wright, North Philadelphia.

The executive board of the Pennsylvania state conference made plans in March to start action to rid the state of its segregated school systems, and the legal redress committe was voted money for the project.

The ERIE branch observed Negro history week in February through presentation of two 15-minute programs, the first over station WICU-TV; the second over station WIKK. Both programs told the story of the founding and the annual observance of Negro history week. The scripts were the joint efforts of Mrs. Mary Marshall Foulke, of the First Unitarian church, and Mrs. Geneva Hagans of the Erie public school system.

The following excerpts are from field secretary Mrs. Ruby Hurley's report of a field trip to Mississippi March 12-23:

"The Indianola branch has come a long way in the months since its organization and shows a great potential for spreading the influence of the NAACP in this part of the Delta. It is

ARTHUR CHAIRES, *Schenectady's (N. Y.) first Negro policeman. See Schenectady branch item on page* 319.

making real efforts to get more Negroes qualified and registered to vote and has been successful in getting many ready this year. . . .

"Although police brutality has abated since the induction of a new sheriff, and there is one Negro on the police force, the other problems in the area are myriad. The majority of Negroes, and they comprise the majority of the population in the county, are living in virtual slavery. There are about 2,000 Negroes working on one plantation. Housing conditions are appalling; outside toilets are commonplace in town.

"Wages in the brickyard, for domestic workers, and generally, are below minimum standards. And the educational level is terribly low. A new

elementary and a new high school are being built and it is promised that they will be 'the best that Negroes will have anywhere in the state.'

"In Natchez, the Negro Business and Civic League did an excellent job of laying the groundwork for the reorganization of the Natchez branch. . . ."

GIFT TO SOUTHWEST AREA CONFERENCE—*Nick Dragon (right), CIO regional director, presents a check for* $500 *to Dr. R. B. Phillips, president of the Southwest Area NAACP Conference held in Phoenix, Arizona. West coast NAACP regional director Franklin H. Williams (center) smiles approval.*

College and School News

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE celebrated sixty-fifth annual charter day on March 19, with President John W. Davis of West Virginia state college as the guest speaker.

President Charles Wesley announces an addition of $2,000 to the scholarship and student loan fund from students, faculty, and friends.

Four CSC students made "straight A" averages for the first semester: Alemu Melaku, senior, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Raymond Cochran, junior, Cleveland, Ohio; Gail Frazier, junior, Wilberforce, Ohio; and Arthur A. Brown, sophomore, Cowsen, Maryland. All four have been continuously on the honor roll since their freshman year.

■

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE was host April 4-6 to the Women's Leadership Conference called by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. The conference concerned itself with the moral shortcomings of our era and ways in which women could use their united strength to raise ethical standards.

■

Rev. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, New York City, addressed a luncheon held in his honor on March 7 at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH on the subject "The Youth of the World Faces the Future." He said that the overwhelming majority of students throughout the world want peace, security, better education, and an opportunity to build a better world.

EUGENE H. BRECKENRIDGE, *who teaches English and mathematics in the Havermale Junior High School, Spokane, Washington. Mr. Breckenridge, who holds an Ed. M. degree from Whitworth College, is the first Negro to hold a teacher's contract in Spokane.*

■

The NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS,

New York City, has launched a survey, with the cooperation of the YW and YMCA and the NAACP, of southern white colleges now admitting, or planning to admit, Negro students. Triple purpose of the survey is to determine the extent to which public and private heretofore all-white colleges are admitting Negroes on the undergraduate and graduate levels; to evaluate attitudes on the campus and in the community towards integration; and to determine, on the basis of this information, to which southern colleges NSSFNS should refer Negro students.

The study will also include Negro private colleges, in those states where interracial enrollments are not specifically prohibited by law, to discover their attitudes towards the admission of white students.

The survey staff includes Dr. Paul F. Lawrence, NSSFNS educational consultant; Herbert Wright, NAACP youth director; Harold J. Kuebler and Ned Linegar, regional staff of the YMCA national student council; Ruth Packard and Dorothy Arnold, regional staff of the YWCA.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE celebrated seventy-first founder's day on April 6, with board president Dr. Emory Ross delivering the main address.

In recent months Tuskegee has been host to the following groups: March 8-9, the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Regional Alumni of the Tuskegee General Alumni Association; March 27-28, the seventh annual Food Show and Nutrition Institute and Buyers Conference; April

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6-11, fortieth annual clinic of the John A. Andrew Clinical Society.

The world premiere for "The Negro in Education," which includes an interview with Dr. F. D. Patterson, and "The Negro in Science," both documentary, were held at Tuskegee on March 7. The first film features classroom and campus scenes at Tuskegee, Hampton, Howard, Bennett, and other leading Negro colleges. The second film surveys the contributions of Negro scientists to the progress of science.

These two films are part of a special series which will include the Negro in industry, national affairs, sports, etc.

The Institute Choir made four appearances on television in New York City April 6-7 on the Ed Sullivan Show and the Kate Smith Hour.

■

Vocational opportunities available to college youth were stressed at the March 18 assembly program of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE by a panel consisting of Houston Baker, administrator, Red Cross hospital; Samuel Plato, general contractor; Joseph Ray, real estate broker; and John Ryan, chief examiner sixth civil service region, Cincinnati.

James R. O'Rourke, KSC librarian, addressed prospective librarians and student library assistants on the requirements, qualifications and rewards in the field of library science, at the Central High School, on March 19. The address was given in celebration of opportunity week.

■

TALLADEGA COLLEGE has broaden-

ed its competitive scholarship examination this year to include selected centers throughout the country instead of confining them as heretofore to thirteen southern states.

The top-ranking student in this examination receives an all-expense scholarship of $650 to Talladega, renewable each year if the student's achievement warrants it. Other ranking students in the examination will receive $275, $200, $150, and $100.

■

Dr. E. Fay Campbell, secretary of the division of higher education of the Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church USA, delivered the founders' day address at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY on April 7.

Of the 118 students who made the honor roll last semester at the university, seven, four seniors, two juniors, and one freshman, maintained "straight A averages."

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY was host to the seventh annual southwide conference of Baptist theological students March 26-27, with Rev. Ronald Coley of the Shaw school of religion serving as general conference chairman and Dr. J. M. Ellison of Virginia Union University, Richmond, delivering the principal address. The conference was interracial.

Religious emphasis week was observed in March, and the festival finals of the North Carolina High School Drama Association were held March 28-29. Honor roll for the first semester lists 91 students, with 19 freshmen, 15 sophomores, 22 juniors, and 26 seniors.

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The March issue of the *Shaw University Bulletin*, "Selecting a College," is an interesting booklet setting forth in pictures and text the various opportunities and offerings of the university.

■

Dr. Harvey J. Reynolds, prominent dentist of Harrisburg, Pa., was forty-eighth founder's day speaker at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE. Albany State was founded in 1904 by Dr. Joseph W. Holley as the Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute, later became the Georgia Normal and Agricultural College, and finally Albany State College.

■

Modern chorals and rarely heard Negro spirituals and jubilees were sung by the SPELMAN COLLEGE glee club at its annual spring concert on April 4. Student soloists on the program were Laura Lee Williams, soprano; Doris Moultrie, soprano; Harriet Anderson, coloratura soprano; Ruth McKinney, cellist; and Minnie Rose James, pianist.

■

Ten Negro artists from various sections of the country were winners of cash awards totalling $1,400 at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY'S eleventh annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints which were opened to the public on March 30 in the University Gallery.

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of $300 was Fred Jones of Chicago, Ill., whose oil painting "Concerto" captured the figure painting award.

Hans Joakim Schultz of Denmark was a recent speaker at the university on living and educational conditions in his country.

Dr. Ernest Hollis of the U. S. Office of Education was the chief consultant and guest speaker at the sixth annual conference of Out-of-Town Field Work Supervisors of the Atlanta University School of Social Work. The four day conference was attended by twenty social work experts who supervise AUSSW students placed out for field work.

■

Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, president of MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, reports that although college enrollment is continuing to decline from the peak reached in the immediate postwar years, the decrease is somewhat less in Negro institutions (3 percent) than in colleges and universities generally (8 percent). This decline would probably be even greater, he states, had it not been for the fact that the enrollment of women increased while the male enrollment was declining.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY held its twenty-third annual festival of Music and Art April 16-19. Among the artists were José Limon and his company of dancers, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, and the Fisk choir.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY exhibited a notable collection of art from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, March 9-April 25. There were forty-one pieces, with works from the various American, French, Dutch, Flemish, Italian, English, and Australian schools, as well as sculpture of Graeco-Roman, Chinese, Gothic, and American origin. Rich-

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mond Barthé, New Orleans born sculptor, was represented by a bronze statuette of a boxer.

Other Dillard events include presentation of Brahms' "Requiem" on April 6, staging of Shakespeare's "The Tempest" by the London Repetory Company on April 4, playing host to the music workshop of the Louisiana Education Association April 3-5, and annual religious emphasis week in March.

■

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE president Dr. Benjamin E. Mays delivered the Henry B. Wright Lecture Series at the Yale University divinity school April 15-17. Four lectures were given by Dr. Mays in this series, and it is expected that they will be published.

The Wright lectures are an endowed series begun this year with Dr. Mays as the first speaker. They are in the memory of the late Henry B. Wright (1877-1923), a former professor of Christian ethics at Yale.

■

Representatives of forty-five national organizations from twenty-five states and the District of Columbia were in attendance at the HOWARD UNIVERSITY conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration in Education" April 16-18. There were also representatives from thirty-one schools and colleges and five state departments of education. Main purpose of the conference was to provide an opportunity for a critical examination of American segrega-

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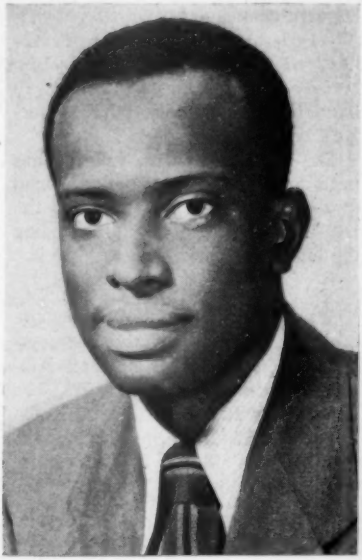
tion, especially in the field of education.

Howard's debating team won second place in the Division 7 regional of the West Point National Tournament. This achievement earns for Howard the honor of being the first Negro college to compete in the national debate tournament, held annually at West Point, April 23-26. John Williams, sophomore, and John Stokes, Jr., senior, represented Howard.

Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history, and author of *From Slavery to Freedom*, has been named a President's Fellow of Brown university. The president's fellowships are awards presented by Brown university through the generosity of an anonymous donor to deserving scholars in the United States for the general purpose of furthering scholarship and creative art. Dr. Franklin, winner of a $4,500 grant, will do research on a book, *Southern Travelers in the North in the Nineteenth Century*.



WALTER CARRINGTON, *chairman of NAACP delegation to Young Adult Council of World Assembly of Youth, elected to represent American students at YAC conference in Dakar, French West Africa, in mid-August.*

LINCOLN HARRISON *of the division of business at Central State College is now a certified public accountant.*

In reporting on the blast in the

Howard chemistry building on March 27, Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing says investigation reveals that every precaution in handling this material (sodium chlorate) had been taken.

Dr. James Richard Laurey has been appointed professor and head of the department of surgery in the Howard Medical School, succeeding the late Dr. Charles Richard Drew.

■

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE has been elected to active membership in The National Collegiate Athletic Association.

Len Witcher and James Kelly, Jr., were featured speakers at the sixth annual Men's Day program, sponsored by the Men's Senate of the college.

Sixteen WSC students have been chosen to appear in the 1951-52 edition of "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges."

■

Seven journalists were guest speakers at the fourth annual headliner week program at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) school of journalism April 23-26. During the four day period more than a hundred high school journalists from a dozen states attended the three-section workshop in journalism, listened to lectures, and sat on panels.

In March Lincoln was host to the twelfth annual Farmers and Homemakers Conference, visited by the famous American Painter Thomas Hart Benton, and heard the lecturer Dr. J. Edward Gerald explain "The First Freedom."

THESE WINSOME LASSES *from Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville, N. C., have entered the National Collegiate Beauty Contest sponsored by Ebony magazine. They are (L. to R.) Velma Jacobs, Ethel Mutts, Josephine Russell, Gloria Odom, Carmen Munoz, and Katheryne Torrence.*

Book Reviews

HOUSING

***Two-Thirds of a Nation*: A Housing Program. By Nathan Straus. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. XIII+291+XVIIpp. $4.00.**

"Two-Thirds of a Nation" is a valuable guide to housing in America. It is addressed to the non-specialist and will certainly appeal to him as a most readable and helpful volume in the field. The author, Nathan Straus, was the first administrator of the United States Housing Authority and is now President of New York City's Radio Station WMCA.

Early in his analysis, the author comes to grips with the problem of the cost of housing. Approaching the issue from the point of view of the consumer, he observes that the cost of capital is the largest component in the monthly cost of shelter. This does not, however, lead Straus to advocate cutting building costs at the price of shoddy construction. Rather, he observes: "A $10,000 house with a forty-year loan at four per cent interest will show a lower annual cost of capital (interest and amortization) than an $8,000 house with a twenty-five year loan at the same interest rate because annual amortization is lower for the larger and better-built house." Also, we are reminded that the cost of housing and the cost of a house are different things. The former not only involves the cost of capital, but also the cost of operation and maintenance.

Once we become cost conscious, we inevitably begin to question the notion that everybody should own his own home. Straus, as Stuart Chase and John P. Dean before him, demonstrates that the desirability and economy of home ownership vary from person to person and from house to house. This much is sure: "The real estate speculator's practice of deceiving house buyers with the statement that the monthly carrying charge for interest, amortization, insurance and taxes 'covers everything' leads to disillusionment and grief." In the field of housing the old adage "Let the buyer beware" is appropriate. Nor is this all. FHA has popularized the myth of the unusual desirability of home ownership. Actually, as Straus observes, "under conditions of modern civilization, a man does not have to buy a cow because his family needs milk. He should not have to buy a house because his family needs a home."

Those interested in housing as consumers of the end product — and which of us can escape such an interest — will profit from Straus' analysis of housing costs and home ownership. Certainly those contemplating the purchase of a home will find food for thought and valuable guides in the analyses. For the reader whose concern has a wider horizon, there are valuable leads to the housing problem and its solution,

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particularly in the author's discussion of FHA and urban redevelopment, and the chapters on British housing, the United States Housing Act of 1949, and the Connecticut program contributed, respectively, by Eric L. Bird, Lee F. Johnson, and Chester Bowles.

An entire chapter is devoted to racial problems in shelter. It is under the authoritative authorship of Charles Abrams and significantly titled "The Segregation Threat in Housing." After a brief resumé of the rise of residential segregation in American cities, Abrams concentrates upon the present situation and, particularly, the role of FHA in perpetuating undemocratic racial patterns. He also points out the threat and the opportunity in urban redevelopment. As in other parts of the book, this discussion is concluded with a specific program of action.

Abrams' analysis is generally accurate and enlightening. There are, however, one or two questionable statements. It is said, for example, that the outlawing of judicial enforcement of race restrictive housing covenants by the Supreme Court has opened a few areas to minorities, "but by and large the victory was in theory more than in fact." While no one should imply that the litigation of 1948 destroyed residential segregation, its effects have been more pronounced than Abrams states. One has only to observe the recent access of Negroes to new areas in cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D. C., to realize that the victory in the courts was more than a theoretical one.

Abrams affirms that "there is still, at this writing, not a single mixed FHA rental project." Since the date of "at this writing" is not given, one cannot challenge the statement. It should be recorded, however, that at the time of my writing (March 1952) there are a few such projects.

These, obviously, are minor criti-

cisms. They fall into insignificance as we agree completely with Abrams' final paragraph:

> "America is faced with a choice. It can continue to countenance the pattern of racial segregation, exclude proscribed groups, incite racial tensions, continue to acquiesce in a scheme of living that is a challenge not only to real estate stability but to common-sense democracy. Or it can at long last try to break through the barriers that have stood in the way of racial harmony and understanding. The choice may seem hard and the program difficult to achieve, but the public housing experiment has demonstrated that it can be done. A world is involved in the principle."

It is most fitting that these words should appear in Nathan Straus' book. For it was during the period when Straus was Administrator of the United States Housing Authority that public housing began to demonstrate the feasibility of interracial living in subsidized shelter.

ROBERT C. WEAVER

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER, *Director of Opportunity Fellowships, John Hay Whitney Foundation, New York City, is an authority on housing and author of The Negro Ghetto* (1948).

WILLIAM M. BREWER of Washington, D. C., new editor of *The Journal of Negro History*. See "Good News," *page* 298.

POLITICS

***The Changed Political Thought of the Negro, 1915-1940.* By Elbert Lee Tatum. Foreword by Lawrence A. Davis. New York: Exposition Press, 1951. 205pp. $3.00.**

The objective of this volume, the author's preface asserts, "is to determine why Negroes in the United States have changed their traditional political allegiance from the Republican party." In pursuit of this objective Dr. Tatum sketchily traces the history of the Negro as a political factor pointing up the political impact of the migration of vast numbers of Negroes out of the South. These migrations, he asserts, opened up new political vistas to Negroes who for generations had been loyal to the Republicans.

That Negro voters are no longer tied to the Republican party has been amply demonstrated at the ballot box in presidential elections, particularly since 1936 when for the first time the majority of Negro voters cast their ballots for a non-Republican candidate for the presidency. This trend had been foreshadowed by the active support given by a sizeable minority of Negro voters to Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic

candidate for president in 1928. Although the majority of Negroes voted Republican in 1932, the Democrats made substantial inroads carrying the predominantly Negro wards in New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Kansas City, Missouri.

What caused the transformation in the Negro's political preferences? Dr. Tatum has a simple answer. The Democrats, he says, "knew that if they were to get the Negro votes they had to break down the Negro's loyalty to the Republican party. Democrats worked harder while Republicans slept as far as the Negro was concerned."

The validity of Dr. Tatum's work is frequently impaired by careless editing as in the following. Commenting on the role of the Negro voter in the 1912 presidential election, he says, on Page 85: "There is nothing in the election returns indicating the Negro's support of the Democratic candidate"; and on Page 94 he asserts that organized effort on the part of Bishop Alexander Walters of the AMEZ church and others "was responsible for large numbers of Negroes voting Democratic in the election of 1912."

To this reviewer, Dr. Tatum's book seems sketchy, superficial and lacking in scholarship.

HENRY LEE MOON

HENRY LEE MOON, *author of Balance of Power, is NAACP director of public relations.*

FREEDMEN

***The Negro Freedman:* Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation. By Henderson H. Donald, Ph.D. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. VII + 270pp. $4.00.**

Sociologist Henderson H. Donald has attempted a cross-discipline study of a significant and neglected phase of American history — the status and condition of the freedmen during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. Applying the point of view and techniques of the sociologist, he has tried to give the reader a picture of Negro life in the South during this period. In accepted sociological fashion he treats of economic conditions, marriage and family life, education, social classes, social customs, sickness and mortality, crime and contact with the law, race relations and political activities, and concludes that the period was one of adjustment by the freedmen to the new conditions attendant upon emancipation.

All credit is due to Dr. Donald for being aware of the importance of a sociological analysis of historical data, and of the essential, if largely unrecognized, interrelationship of the historical and sociological disciplines. Credit is also due him for attempting a comprehensive treatment of the topic under consideration. Yet, because Dr. Donald lacked an adequate command of the historical sources, his book tends to be superficial and incomplete.

In the first place Dr. Donald has tended to rely mostly on secondary rather than on primary sources. He did not consult the Negro newspapers of the period, invaluable sources of Negro thought and activity. He neglects entirely the exceedingly significant postwar Negro Convention movement. Nor did he use such materials as the publications of the Freedmen's Aid Societies, the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau, the papers of the American Missionary Association, the remi-

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nscences and autobiographies of Negroes of the Reconstruction period, or the sizeable pamphlet literature.

It would seem, too, that an adequate treatment of Negro office holders and Negroes in politics would necessitate some familiarity with the Proceedings of the Southern State Constitutional Conventions of 1867 and 1868, and with the activities of Negro congressmen as recorded in the Congressional Record, if not with the proceedings of some of the southern state legislatures, but Donald used none of these. In other areas his bibliography of primary sources is incomplete, as when he uses accounts of men like Whitelaw Reid and John T. Trowbridge, northerners who travelled in the South after the war, but not the equally significant report of Carl Schurz.

Under ordinary circumstances a satisfactory integration of sociological and historical materials might have been made on the basis of secondary historical works, but the treatment historians have given the Reconstruction period is anything but ordinary or satisfactory. It is one of the crying shames of American history that for the most part one can consult only works which have either a strong Marxist interpretation, or a violent anti-Negro bias. The former, apparently, Dr. Donald did not consult — not even the provocative *Black Reconstruction* of W. E. B. DuBois. The latter — notably the volumes of Walter Fleming and P. A. Bruce, and the series of doctorial dissertations done at Columbia and Johns Hopkins early in the present century — have unfortunately been the major reliance of Dr. Donald.

The book is largely a summary of the essentially random materials found in most of the references consulted; and so there is, this reviewer feels, a tendency toward unwarranted generalizations based upon insufficient evidence. In general, therefore, the book gives the impression of lacking historical depth and perspective, which any work dealing with the freedmen should have.

AUGUST MEIER

AUGUST MEIER, *now studying for his doctorate at Columbia University, is a student of Negro history.*

BURGHERS AND BARONS

Sobrados e Mucambos: Decadencia do Patriarcado Rural e Desenvolvimento do Urbano. Por Gilberto Freyre. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1951. 2nd. Edition. 3 Vols. 1188 pp. 34 Illustrations hors-texte. 300 Cruzeiros.

In 1933 Gilberto Freyre published the first edition of *The Masters and the Slaves.* Three years later he published a continuation under the title of *Mansions and Huts.* Now, fifteen years later, he brings out a second revised edition of the book, with five new chapters, many revisions, a new 70-page introduction, copious notes, bibliographies, and indexes. Freyre feels that "in some respects it is a new work."

Freyre's theme, as the subtitle "Decline of the Rural Patriarchy and Development of the Urban" indicates, is the shift of power during the early nineteenth century from the rural aristocracy to the city.

"The antagonism between the activities of the colonial cities and the big-houses of the large estates and sugar plantations was a survival from the seventeenth century. The power of the cities developed, but the rural nobility preserved, almost intact, most of its provileges, and principally the decorative elements of its grandeur, until the end of the nineteenth century. This element, with all of the ritual, all of the social liturgy and mysticism, is known to have had an extraordinary capacity

to prolong the grandeur of life, or the appearance of life, in institutions already wounded to death in their sources." (I. p. 122)

Though the book's concern is with the manner in which this shift took place, the author crams in everything which can throw light upon the decay of the old patriarchal society: the democratizing influence of the city square in contrast with the semi-feudal environment of the sugar plantation; the relation of paternal authority to rebellious offspring; the weak financial position of the planters; the double moral standards for men and women; the mansion and the hut as the molder of two types of men, one primarily European and the other African; the assimilation of Oriental artifacts; the gradual substitution of animal and machine labor for that of the slave; the rise of the university educated man and the mulatto in Brazilian society; and the frank acceptance of miscegenation.

The society which Freyre describes was a new society with different values from those of the sugar barons, and it was run by university educated men who had no interest in plantation life. University degrees, or the gold braid of the army officer, were ladders to social position, and even to wealth and power. This environment favored the entrance of mulattoes, many of whom already filled the more skilled occupations and held university degrees, into Brazilian society and public life. The academic degree or the title of doctor gave mulattoes "new certificates of whiteness."

Such was the prestige of the title "doctor" that it could override color prejudice. The middle race was fast becoming the middle class as many mulattoes became "Aryanized" and "aristocratized" into whites.

Many of the mulatto members of this urban intelligentsia had international reputations, for example, the writer Machado de Assis, the engineer André Reboucas, the sculptor Aleijadinho, the philosopher Farias Brito, the composer Carlos Gomes, the poet Gonçalves Dias, the psychiatrist Juliano Moreira, the linguistic scholar Teodoro Sampaio, the jurist Tobias Barreto, and the statesman the Baron of Cotegipe, just to name a few "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."

Mansions and Huts, like so many of Freyre's books, is repetitious; yet the author seldom bores with his wealth of incident and illustration, some of it reading like items out of the late Robert Ripley's "Believe It Or Not."

Perhaps the major shortcoming of the book is the author's failure to mention Portugal's intellectual and social influence on Brazil during the period studied. Anyone who wants lively and informative historico-sociological reading in non-technical, almost colloquial language will find it in these three volumes. The copious chapter notes contain a wealth of information and observation, and there is a vast amount of material too on the Brazilian Negro.

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 312)

and have no civic rights whatsoever. Social legislation is almost non-existent and strikes, whenever happening, are declared 'illegal' and if needed, quelled by force.

Efforts to unionize labor have failed so far. They have been defeated by the discharge, 'promotion or deportation of the agitators.' Wages for all these reasons are low and somewhat less than half those paid to workers in Venezuela. They range from two dollars per day for unskilled laborers to three dollars for so-called helpers (assistants) and four dollars for craftsmen.

Here's a Hot Tip

***The Crisis* has been fortunate enough to secure a few Copies of the First Edition of Walter White's**

THE FIRE IN THE FLINT

Of this book the late Sinclair Lewis said:

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Fire in the Flint was one of the first, if not the first, novels to be written about the race problem in the South which was not written to appease the South.

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The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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